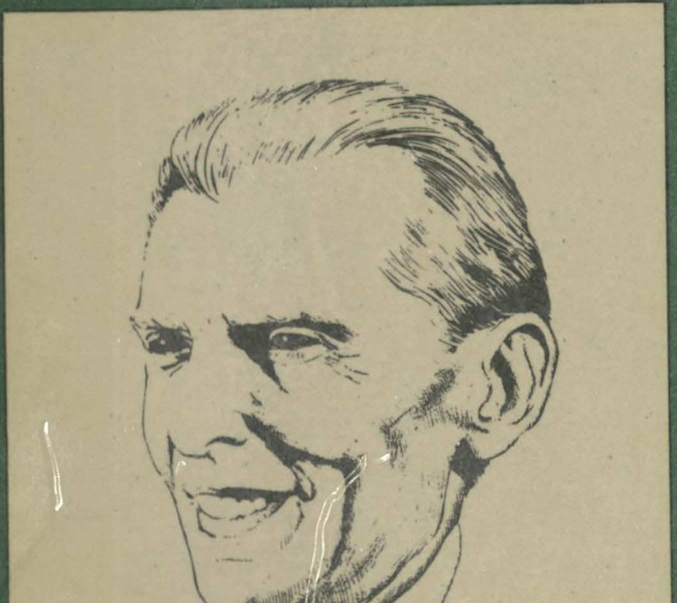
THE QUAID-E-AZAM PAPERS 1941 - 42



ewp

RIZWAN AHMED

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Compiled by
Rizwan Ahmad

ewp
EAST & WEST PUBLISHING COMPANY
KARACHI-LAHORE
1976

22, Corner Chambers,
I.I. Chundrigar Road,
Karachi 0102
Phone 212036

Printed at Afrasia Printing Press, Karachi



FATHER OF THE NATION

Portrait by Sheikh Ahmed, the only painter for whom the Quaid-e-Azam sat.

Foreword

There could be no greater satisfaction to a research student of history to find access to the original sources of informative documentation. The present volume of papers related to Quaid-e-Azam and Muslim struggle for freedom is a treasure that all would like to possess.

The compiler of these papers is himself a research student on the life and achievements of Quaid-e-Azam.His gesture to make public the documents in his possession without first making use of them, is an example of generosity which will be highly appreciated.

This volume is in the nature of an archive, housing the original documents. The facsimile reproduction of these papers, in fact brings the library to the scholar relieving him of the inconvenience of going from pillar to post in anxious hunt for facts. This is the intrinsic value of this volume.

MATLUB SAIYID

Preface

Here is the second volume of the Quaid-e-Azam Papers for the years 1941 and 1942 on the pattern of the previous publication.

The present volume throws new light on some of the aspects of the Quaid's life which will be of considerable help to all those who intend to carry on research in this field. The intrinsic value of these papers is obvious.

I must thank Mr. Rafique Akhtar of East & West Publishing Company for his valuable co-operation in publishing these papers during the Birth Centenary Celebrations of the Father of the Nation.

I do hope that other individuals and institutions who are in possession of such valuable documents would come forward so that the record may be completed.

Karachi,
December 25, 1976

RIZWAN AHMAD

Contents

The Associated Press of India
(INLAND NEWS TELEGRAMS)

BCMBAY NC FIFTEEN (LOCAL AND UPC GENERAL) BCMBAY FEB 7.

MR. M.A. JINNAH, PRESIDENT CF TH, ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE HAS ISSUED THE FCLLCWING STATEMENT IN REGARD TC SIND AFFAIRS:-

"THE HINDU AND THE CCNGRESS PRESS IS MISREPRESENTING THE SITUATICN IN SIND DAY IN AND DAY CUT. THE CCRRECT FACTS AS I HAVE BEEN ABLE TC ASCERTAIN ARE AS FCLLCWS:

THE CCNGRESS PARTY AND THE HINDU INDEPENDENT PARTY CCNCLUDED AN AGREEMENT WITH FEW INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS CF THE ASSEMBLY WHC BELCNG TC THE MUSLIM LEAGUE ON THE BASIS CF A SC-CALLED 21 PCINTS ALCNG THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THEY WILL MAINTAIN THE MIR MINISTRY FCR THE REMAINING PERICD CF THE ASSEMBLY. PRICR TC THIS AGREEMENT THE MUSLIM LEAGUE PARTY IN THE ASSEMBLY WAS DISBANDEDAS A CONDITICN PRECEDENT TC THE AGREEMENT FCRMING THE SCCALLED LEAGUE MINISTRY CCNSISTING CF MIR BUNDEHALIKHAN, SHAIK ABDUL MAJID, K B KHURRC, SYED AND TWC CTHER HINDU MINISTERS. THEREAFTER THE CCNGRESS PARTY CCMMENCED ITS TREACHERCUS MANOEUVRES TCWARDS THE MIR MINISTRY SCON AFTER THIS AGREEMENT WAS ARRIVED AT. UP TC THE PRESENT MCMENT THERE HAS BEEN NC CHANGE IN THEIR ATTITUDE: AND THE HINDU INDEPENDENT PARTY ADCPTED THE SAME

ATTITUDE AFTER SOME TIME UNDER THE COVER OF MURDERS IN ROHRI DIVISION. THEY HAVING SUCCEEDED IN GETTING THE MUSLIM LEAGUE PARTY DISBANDED THE RESULT WAS THAT ONLY TWO HINDU PARTIES FUNCTIONED, NAMELY THE CONGRESS AND THE HINDU INDEPENDENT PARTY WHICH GAVE THEM A STRENGTH OF ABOUT TWENTYONE TOGETHER IN A HOUSE OF SIXTY. AND WITH THE HELP OF KHAN BAHADUR ALLA BUX AND SIR GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH AND THEIR INDIVIDUAL FOLLOWING, they WERE IN A DOMINANT POSITION IN THE ASSEMBLY AND THE MINISTRY CONSISTING OF MIR BANDEH ALI KHAN, SHAIK ABDUL MAJID AND SYED AND KHURRO, WHO WERE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE AND WITHOUT ANY LEAGUE PARTY BEHIND THEM, WERE AT THE MERCY OF THE DOMINANT POWER OF THE HINDUS. THEREAFTER THE MACHINATIONS WENT ON AND WITH THE HELP OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS WHO ARRIVED IN KARACHI, THEY GOT RID OF BY A FRESH ARRANGEMENT, MR SYED WHO WAS A MEMBER OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE AND BROUGHT IN KHAN BAHADUR ALLA BUX IN HIS PLACE. IT IS ALLEGED THERE WAS SOME SORT OF AGREEMENT WHICH WAS TO BE CARRIED OUT ON FEBRUARY 15TH. ACCORDING TO THIS AGREEMENT BUNDEH ALI KHAN WAS TO RESIGN AND GHULAM HUSSEIN HIDAYTULLAH WAS TO BE INSTALLEB IN THE MINISTRY AND ALLA BUX WAS TO BE THE PREMIER. THIS AGREEMENT, it IS SAID, IS A SECRET AGREEMENT. BETWEEN WHOM THIS AGREEMENT WAS ARRIVED AT IS A MYSTERY YET. BUT ONE THING IS CLEAR FROM THE FACTS THAT I HAVE ASCERTAINED; THAT SHAIK ABDUL MAJID KNEW NOTHING ABOUT IT, WAS NO PARTY TO IT, THAT THERE WAS NO MUSLIM LEAGUE PARTY IN THE ASSEMBLY, THAT THE WORKING COMMITTEE OR THE COUNCIL OF THE PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE KNEW

NOTHING ABOUT IT AND WAS NOT CONSULTED BY ANYBODY. AND THE PARTY MOST CONCERNED, NAMELY MIR BUNDEHALI KHAN, WHO IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE AGREED TO RESIGN ON THE 15TH OF FEBRUARY, INFORMS ME THAT HE WAS NOT A PARTY TO ANY SUCH AGREEMENT AND THAT HE IS UNDER NO OBLIGATION TO RESIGN. THE SO-CALLED AZAD AGREEMENT IS OBVIOUSLY INTENDED TO GET RID OF MIR BUNDEH ALI AND PUT KHAN BAHADUR ALLA BUX AS THE PREMIER AND SIR GHULAM HUSSEIN as a minister; these two being deadly opponents of the league with two hindu ministers and thereby leaving only two MEMBERS OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE IN THE MINISTRY, NAMELY, KHAN BAHADUR KHURRO AND SHAIK ABDUL MAJID IN THEIR INDIVIDUAL CAPACITY, AND PASSING THIS SHOW AS A COALITION MINISTRY WITH THE MUSLIM LEAGUE.

"THE TWO INDIVIDUAL MINISTERS HAVE NO MUSLIM LEGUE PARTY BEHIND THEM IN THEASSEMBLY AND HAVE NO SANCTION OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE IN THE PROVINCE BEHIND. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE MUSLIM LEAGUE TO ALLOW ITS NAME TO BE EX- PLOITED AND ASSUME THE RESPONSIBILITY OF MINISTRY SIMPLY BECAUSE THE TWO WHO HAPPEN TO BE MEMBERS OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE ARE ALLOWED TO BE IN SUCH A MINISTRY. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE MINISTERS CANNOT CARRY ON THE GOVERNMENT THE ONLY HONOURABLE COURSE FOR THEM WOULD BE TO RESIGN FROM THE MINISTRY AND SIT ON THE OPPOSITION BENCHES. I AM SURE THEY WOULD RESIGN FROM SUCH A MINISTRY RATHER THAN RESIGN FROM THE LEAGUE. BUT AS INDIVIDUALS IF THEY DECIDE TO CONTINUE, THEN THE MUSLIM LEAGUE CANNOT ACCEPT THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THEIR PASSING OFF AS LEAGUE MINISTERS IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES

I HAVE DESCRIBED ABCVE. AND THE PRCVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE WHC IS THE FINAL AUTHORITY TO APPRCVE CF THE COALITICN IN THE ASSEMBLY WILL HAVE TC CONSIDER WHETHER IT WILL NCT BE A FARCE TC CALL SUCH A THING AS COALITION, AND CCNSIDER WHAT ACTICN THEY SHOULD TAKE IN THE MATTER AGAINST ANY INDIVIDUAL MEMBER OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE SHARING THE RESPCNSIBILITY CF SUCH A MINISTRY.

AS REGARDS THE INTRCDUCTICN CF JCINT ELECTORATES I AM GLAD THAT IN DEFERENCE TC THE UNIVERSAL MUSLIM CPINICN IN THE PRCVINCE CF SIND AND OUTSIDE, THE GOVERNMENT HAVE DECIDED NCT TC PRESS ON WITH THESE BILLS.

I HOPE THAT EVEN IN BCRCUGH MUNICIPALITIES WHERE JCINT ELECTCRATE ACT HAS BEEN ALREADY PASSED WILL BE SUSPENDED SINE DIE AND FINALLY WITHDRAWN AS REQUESTED BY THE WCRKING CCMMITTEE OF THE SIND PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE RECENTLY. I ALSC HCPE THAT BETTER CCUNSELS WILL PREVAIL AND THE PRESENT PERSCNNEL OF THE MINISTRY WILL NCT BE DISTURBED; AND THAT ALLA BUX WILL NCT INSIST UPCN BECCMING THE PREMIER NOR WOULD FRIENDS CF SIR GHULAM HUSSEIN INSIST UPCN HIS BEING BRCUGHT IN UNDER THE THREAT THAT CTHERWISE THE PRESENT MINISTRY WILL BE BRCKEN. IF SUCH A THING HAPPENS THE RESPCNSIBILITY WILL REST WITH THOSE WHC ARE BENT UPCN CAUSING DISRUPTICN AMCNG THE MUSLIMS AND THCSE WHC ARE BENT UPON PREVENTING THE MUSLIM LEAGUE PARTY BEING FCRMED AND FUNCTICNING WHEN THE CTHER TWC HINDU PARTIES ARE LEFT INTACT AND FREE TO FUNCTICN AND WCRKING TOGETHER HAND IN HAND.

API ENDS MMN/SVR 6.45 PM 7.2.41.

mohammad amir ahmad
mahmudabad

Nainitall
12 · 6 · 41

My dear Uncle,

Two days back I arrived here from Calcutta. I was about to write the report about Bengal, when I was struck by a most violent pain near the heart in the chest. This is the reason for the delay, and beg to be excused.

In Calcutta I tried to get all points of view and discuss the various aspects of Mr. Haque's Misbehaviours. You know perfectly well that Nazim probably is the most honest of the whole lot. Shahid is self centred, and egotistically patriotic. The Nawab Bahadur apocryphically self conceited. Shahabuddin leads Nazim by the nose and Shahabis nose is mortgaged to the British. Therefore we can not rely even on our <u>best</u> man in Bengal (in position), fully knowing that he is not his own master. Then comes Ispahani about whom ~~it~~ even if I go on writing pages after pages I will not be able to do Justice. Suffice it to say that he is <u>the</u> light in that impenetrable darkness. But he is not a <u>Bengali</u> and the Bengali is jealous of all non-Bengalis, so that's that. Fazlul Haq has many advantages, he is an old politician, he is a Bengali, he is charitable to the extent of waste, he is sly, he is cunning he is all that can easily defeat our <u>honest</u> efforts.

This is the talk we had with Nazim.

"Probably Mr Jinnah will be driven to take a similar action against Fazlul[?] as he took against Abdurrahman therefore I want to convey the following facts through you in the interest of the M. League, the Moslem, and the Moslems of Bengal in particular.

F is committed to the League, the aberrations that he off and on indulges in are temporary and superficial. This time even he did not stick to his statement and contradicted it in his old style. As long as he is in the League Working Committee, he will always come for shelter to the League. In his last statement he has said Moslem Nation, and the question is that if he does not believe in Pakistan how does he utter such a thing. My fear is that if he is thrown out of the Working Comte. then he may ~~started~~ start a parallel organization in Bengal and even go to the extent of giving that organization the same name. Then our position in the masses will be nothing. We even will not have a reply that he is not in the League. Later on he may form a coalition with Bose and other Hindus and thus do the utmost harm to the Moslems of Bengal. Europeans will support him. The position would have been quite different if new elections were coming on. But untill the Moslem League becomes a house word in Bengal F cannot be dislodged from his position, and even new elections cannot help."

I said "Then how long do you expect us to bear these insults to our organization. You don't even try to make the League strong

ammong the masses. Can you tell me what you have done for the Moslems? How many tours you have taken during the year? How many Leagues have been formed?"

Shaheed "Yes it is true that we have been criminally negligent in our duties but you will be pleased to note that now there are 38 branches of the League all over Bengal and we ~~have~~ now determined to make it stronger. Untill then I agree with Nazim that F should not be touched."

I said: "But for instance Mr Jinnah does not agree to take in F then what?"

all (i.e. Nazim, Shahabu, Ispahani, and Ahmad) "Then don't take any ministers from any province"

In the end of these discussion Hasan & Ahmad even were agreeing with Nazim, and there was no other way. A few days later I met Rahman and he also was of the opinion that in the interest of the League no action shouldbe taken against F. "But" he said "sentimentally I feel that all this rotten material be turned out of the League. Logically I agree with the rest."

I also remember ~~that~~ putting a very categorical question to Shaheed. I asked "What will happen if we come to some critical juncture when every member is put to the test and sacrifice is demanded" Shaheed "Then we can turn him out."

Therefore Sir with disinterested colleagues, with the shadow of a provincial League, with the devil working against us, and with no financial independence I have to confess that we cannot do any better but to ~~give~~ go on giving a long rope and if Allah wills he (F) will hang himself.

Another misunderstanding has arisen and that is that the people think that Pakistan has been provisionally shelved. As to its source I am unable to ~~tra~~ trace. It is rampant in U.P.

I wonder if you received the Bihar reports?

with respects to self & phophi.

Yours

Amin

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

from Ashraf and Akbar,

Yours sincerely,
Liaquat Ali Khan

Charleville Hotel,
Mussoorie
1. 7. 41.

My dear Mr Jinnah,

Thank you for the copies of the Correspondence that passed between you and Sir Zafrullah regarding the Defence Advisory Committee which Matloob sent me a few days ago. The reply that you have given is the only one that could be given under the circumstances. It is consistent with the attitude that has been adopted by

the Muslim League throughout
Your new working Committee
I think is an improvement
on the last one. I do not
know if you intend to convene
a meeting of the working
Committee in the near future
there does not seem to be
anything very important
that the working Committee
could consider except our
internal consolidation
I hope you are quite fit
again and have got over
completely ~~over~~ your last
indisposition. Please look
after yourself. We all are
ok. With our kindest regards to
you and Miss Jinnah and love

HAJI ABDUL SATHAR HAJI ESSAK SAIT, M.L.A.
MEMBER { FINANCE COMMITTEE. ADVISORY COMMITTEE, COMMERCE DEPT.
MUNICIPAL COUNCILLOR
&
~~SECRETARY.~~
~~KERALA MUSLIM MAJLIS.~~

TELLICHERRY, 1st. July 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I expect you have received my yesterday's telegram. By yesterday's post I received the copy of Mr. Mahmood Padsha Saheb's letter to you. It is true that Malabar has suffered gravely from Cyclone and flood. Totally speaking Muslims have suffered more than the Hindus though in certain areas Hindus have suffered more than the Muslims. But the Muslims who have suffered are the poorest of the poor. Though some of the figures mentioned in Mr. Mahmood Padsha's letter are rather exaggerated there is no doubt that the loss and damage is vast and extensive. You certainly have read reports about these happenings in the newspapers, though Bombay papers may not have contained as many details as our Madras papers.

The need for relief was felt to be urgent especially among the Muslims of the South West regions of Malabar. The District Muslim League of Malabar at once rushed to the rescue and we opened relief Centres in the most affected areas. As the extent of the area affected and the number of people in distress was vast and beyond our limited resources for relief, appeals were issued by myself as the General Secretary of the District League and also by the League Leaders in Madras. The Madras Presidency Muslim League has constituted a relief Committee for this purpose and collections are being made in Madras. The greatest consolation in this matter is the repeatedly announced decision of the Government of Madras that they are prepared to shoulder all necessary expenditure in connection with relief operations. This announcement came some time after our appeal for funds. Further, as is usual with the red tapism of Governments, it will take some time before the Government's relief measures can be put into operation. Meanwhile our relief activities proved very effective and protected people from

starvation. Our relief is distributed to all alike regardless of castes and creed. The Congress is also collecting funds and making some distributions.

We first thought of requesting you to issue an appeal for funds but later in view of the Government's declaration it was thought unnecessary That is the reason for my telegram to you requesting you not to issue an appeal for funds as requested by Mr. Mahmood Padsha. I felt that such an appeal will place you in a false position in view of the announcement of Madras Government's decision. Ofcource even now there is the fear that the Government's measures may prove inadequate. But we have to wait and see how far the Government is prepared to go.

We have, on behalf of the District Muslim League, written to the Government pointing out the various ways in which Government can and should render help. For immediate relief, We said the Government should make money grants for distribution of rice, coth and building materials to the distressed people. Later the Government should give liberal loans to rehabilitate the people and their agricultural lands. Further the Government will have to make liberal tax remissions.

The first meeting of the Advisory committee is to be held on the 4th instant when the Collector is expected to unfold his proposals for relief. M adras Government have so far sanctioned Rs one lakh for immediate relief in Malabar and Rs 5000/- for South Kanara.

The treasurer of the Presidency League Relief fund has so far sent us Rs 2000/- A further remittance of Rs 2000/- is expected from him. A great portion of this amount will be absorbed by the immediate relief measures started by the District Muslim League.

It will be help ful if you can issue a statement through the A.P.I.

expressing your deep sympathy with the sufferings as disclosed in detailed reports from Malabar, South Kanara and Cochin, appreciation of the Relief work undertaken by the Malabar District Muslim League and the Madras Presidency Muslim League and thanking the Government of Madras for their sympathetic attitude and requesting the Government to be liberal in the matter of money grants, loans and tax remmissions in view of the vastness and the grave nature of the sufferingg, loss, and damage caused by the Cyclone and the floods. Such a statement from you will be much appreciated by the sufferers, the majority of whom are Moplahs.

I hope this finds you well and hapy

Yours sincerely

G.M.Hamid

C/o The Hon'ble
Shuaib Qureshi
Ahmedabad
BHOPAL.

3/7

Dear Bhai Mr Jinnah

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your kind letter of the 16th June 1941 informing me that you had been good enough to include me in the personnel of the Working Committee of the A.I.M.L. I take this opportunity of thanking you for the kind thought and pray to Allah that I may do some service to the great cause

which our League represents.
I hope you are in the
enjoyment of excellent
health and that the last
change in Bangalore has done
you much good.
With all good wishes
Yours sincerely
Begum Mohd Ali.

MOHD. AURANGZEB KHAN,
M.L.A.
B.A., LL.B. (Alig)
ADVOCATE
PESHAWAR.

Peshawar
Dt-8.7.41.

Dear Sir,

This is to respectfully acknowledge your kind letter by which you were pleased to nominate me to the Working Committee of the All India Moslem League.

of late I am suffering from liver trouble & hence the delay in reply

With fraternal regards to Miss Jinnah and

obedient regards to yourself
& prayers for your health &
spirits Yours obediently

Syed Ausman Bab ~~Khan~~

Rani Bagh.
Quetta.
9.7.41

My dear Qazi Azam.

I am sorry to inform you that the Samalis lost their appeal in P.C. Mr. Gilson K.C. and Sir Hari Singh Gour had appeared for us. The whole case was decided on the terms of treaty between H.H the Khan of Kalat & the British Govt — other points were not even heard. Now I have been informed by the solicitors that they have been instructed by Sir Hari Singh, that we should serve a notice on H.H the Khan of Kalat, and do not know on which grounds.

Under the A.G.G's instructions the other day the District Magistrate met me, to find out from me on which side of the fence the League stands at the present time. My reply to him was "League has proclaimed its policy from time to time & if you need its decision I can supply you with the copies of our resolutions." You will agree with me, it was rather stupid of them to ask me this question — anyhow they do such a lot of things, here. Then I also told that if the League is allowed to work as it is working now, it means certain [illegible] the [illegible] and mischief of those who have been [illegible]

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by the Govt to represent the people; and which thing the Govt of Baluchistan would never allow and hence there will be the inevitable clash between the Govt & the League. I was therefore asked if it would not be possible for me to work through the accredited Govt men. and that would it not be possible for me to work on different lines to that of the established line or lines of the League, here in this Province. Then it was pointed out to me that from my speeches I give the impression to the masses – because they are reported so, that the people should work against the Govt. Those people who have been ousted & replaced by the League, & who now feel that they have been deprived of their privileges bestowed upon them by the Govt work day & night against us & sometimes even with the connivance of the Govt. & it were these people who reported that the impression – I give in my speeches is hostile to the Govt. I answered the P.A. that being a responsible member of the League, I could not have said things which are against the set policy & programme of the League. On this I was told that I must then give them a ~~[illegible]~~

practical proof of my intentions, by joining their local War Committees and contributing towards the War Fund. I told them that my party has done nothing to interfere in their war efforts. So far as this I was told that "Either you are with us or you are against us", nowadays there is ~~[illegible]~~ no such thing as Neutral". All these amounted to a sort of indirect pressure amounting to threats that if I did not join the War Committee, they would take necessary action both against me & the party. I told them that I cannot commit myself any further without the prior sanction of my Bādshāh. I was told that "Bādshāh ought to realise that Baluchistan is different to the rest of India, here we have tribal system which is akin to the form of govt in Indian States, and since the Congress doesn't interfere in States, it should adopt the same policy here also."

These are the conditions under which I have to work here, and these are the people with whom I to deal. It is so easy for the administration here to gather a handful of men, & make them say that my speeches were hostile to the Govt

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under these circumstances I seek your guidance. Should I or should I not join the Local War Committee, my personal views you know well yourself, but I am prepared to do any sacrifice for the League. If I had a gang of young educated workers with me here, I would have certainly gone to the extreme ends. but again the lot here very weak, through personal effort we keep them together, and thus we are trying to raise the standard of the League here. I do hope you would help me through these difficulties, and the line of action that I should adopt. The continued hand of the Govt. and men who are placed in privileged positions by the Govt. work constantly against the sincere, simple followers of the League who are absolutely helpless here.

I do hope you & Miss Jinnah are keeping fit & fine. Our salaams & best wishes to you both.

Yours Sincerely

Isa

Nazr-e-Jinnah
Kuchai Cheelan,
Delhi.
11. 7. '41.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wrote to you one or two letters from Roorkee but did not hear in reply. Your Secretary Mr. Matloob wrote me inquiring what help he could render in connection with the compilation of ~~his~~ your 'Speeches'. I replied to him but since then nothing has been heard from him.

Many things have happened of late about which I have been thinking of writing to you. The sudden outbreak of Hindu-Muslim riots at various places, the insidious attempts of Gandhi and his henchmen to link them up with the Pakistan issue and throw the onus of responsibility on Muslims, the unabated aggression and virulence of Mahasabha leaders, ~~and~~ all point to a deep-laid plot to terrorise the Mussalmans into abject surrender. It almost appears ~~of~~ as if the whole thing were being engineered with the connivance of the authorities. The most provocative

and violent speeches and statements of Mahasabha leaders go unnoticed. The Dacca riots have called for an Enquiry Committee but the sufferings of Moslems in Bihar Sharif, Ahmedabad and Bombay leave the authorities unmoved. Dr. Moonje talks openly of raising an army of 50,000 and of Hinduising the official army of ~~the~~ an equal size so that Moslems would not dare talk of Pakistan. K. M. Munshi who is well-known for his anti-Muslim feelings makes the most malicious insinuations against Muslims, ~~and~~ starts the Akhand Hindustan front to oppose the Pakistan project and talks openly of organising the Hindus in violence. Goondaism and Goondashahi are phrases coined by Gandhi & his satellites to malign the Mussalmans and put up the Hindus as innocent sufferers. I am convinced that this new move has the tacit approval of Gandhi. The question which disturbs my mind & which I beg leave to lay before you is as to what are we going to do in the circumstances. Are

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we going to allow things to drift, or are we going to take things in our hands and make everybody understand that nothing least of all violence can now succeed in intimidating the Mussalmans. Having failed in all their nefarious designs and manoeuvres the Congress now think that they should make a bid to break Muslim solidarity and morale by violent means. Of course the attempt is bound to fail but isn't it time that the Muslim League also devised some effective measures to put heart in the Mussalmans and make them ready for any eventuality whatsoever.

Another disturbing element in the situation is the influx of undesirable and dubious persons in local Muslim leagues at many places. I can testify from personal knowledge that three years ago when we were just on the fringe of the organization of our movement many people wouldn't even accept membership of the league. They would keep at a safe distance and would treat the league workers with amused contempt. When they found that the league had gathered sufficient strength, stability

and speed they suddenly thrust them-selves into League committees by crooked and unscrupulous means and by maligning the sincere and silent workers. If we have to save our organization which we have so sedulously built up from falling into the hands of self-seekers and careerists we should devise effective methods to check corruption and demoralisation. I am formulating some proposals which I shall submit for your consideration.

Another matter to which I would beg leave to invite your attention is the reported resignation of three members from the Executive Council of the Muslim University — Dr. Zakir Husain, K. B. Habibullah and Nawab Ismail Khan. Whatever specious reasons they might state the real reason for this undignified conduct on their part is their sense of defeat at Dr. Ziauddin's election and their personal animosity and grudge against Dr. Ziauddin. So far as Zakir Husain and Habibullah are concerned the University is well-rid of them. They are mischief-mongers and implacable.

opponents of the Muslim League. Why Nawab Ismail Khan should make common cause with an arch-Congressite like Zakir Husain against a fellow Muslim Leaguer passes one's understanding. If our leaders like Nawab Saheb can't ~~suppress~~ subordinate their personal feelings to a higher cause then what can we expect of the rank and file. I respectfully suggest that Nawab Ismail Khan should be asked to withdraw his resignation: but if he doesn't then his place along with the other two places should be filled by staunch Muslim Leaguers. This is a good opportunity to augment the League strength in the Executive of the University. I suggest that you may be pleased to write to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Dr. Ziauddin to put their heads together and fix upon three suitable persons to fill the vacancies. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan is going to Aligarh on the 27th July to attend the meeting of the Executive Council. So far as Dr. Ziauddin is concerned I am glad to be able to tell you one thing. On several occasions

recently when he was asked as to what would be the policy of the Muslim University now he said boldly that the policy of the University would be identical with that of the Muslim League. He has also been heard to say that he is prepared to follow implicitly your directions with regard to the working of the University. He seems to be very keen on having the assurance that he has the good will and support of the League behind him, & particularly your good will. I am sure he will work wholly in the interests of the Muslim League and the League position will improve a great deal in the University if he continues to receive some encouragement from you from time to time.

Apologising for the length of this letter,

Yours Sincerely
Jamiluddin Ahmad!

P.S. Please reply at my Aligarh address as follows:-
4-A Nazir Ahmad Road,
Muslim University,
Aligarh.

Mount Road. P.O.
Madras
15.7.41

My dear Leader.

It is long since I troubled you with a letter and asked for your advice. You must be very busy with the speedily growing and changing situation in the country. I hope Muslim India will succeed in achieving all that it stands for soon. Allah-o-Akbar.

Will you kindly let me know if a Muslim Leaguer can take war contracts either in his own name or that of his relative and be engaged in this business.

With affectionate regards.

Yours very sincerely
Abdul Hameed Khan

Vice-Chancellor.

Muslim University,
Aligarh.

Dated July 15, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending you a copy of the letter sent to me by Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan, Dr. Zakir Hussain Khan and Khan Bahadur Md. Habibullah Khan. This letter is published in English and Vernacular papers and you may have already read it. Dr. Zakir Hussain Khan and Khan Bahadur Habibullah Khan have very strong associations and commitments with the Congress. Nawab Md. Ismail Khan is the President of the U.P. Muslim League, but in the University area he has constantly been associated intimately with Dr. Zakir Husain Khan and his party.

In 1936 when I was the Vice-Chancellor, I did not take interest in the election of the members of the Court as I thought that Nawab Ismail Khan and his party would naturally support the Muslim Leaguers, but to my surprise I found that he supported the Congress Mussalmans and the result was that nearly all the

members who were then elected belonged to the Congress group.

In the year 1938 Nawab Md. Ismail Khan and I promised to you to assist the late Sir Shah Sulaiman and I made every effort to work with Nawab Ismail Khan. I asked him whether I should nominate him for the membership of the Executive Council of the University, but he refused to become a member. Within two weeks he stood up on the persuation of Khan Bahadur Habibullah Khan and his party so much so that in supporting him Chaudhri Niamatullah was dropped out. I consulted him in all matters connected with the University and acted on his advice including the election of new members.

You are perhaps familiar with during the last election of the Vice-Chancellor (April 1941) he in his capacity as the President of the Muslim League asked atleast two members within my knowledge, [redacted] to oppose my election.

Dr. Zakir Husain Khan's term of office of the membership of the Court and of the Executive Council was expiring in a few months time and he took this

dramatic action to draw the public attention. He made every effort to annihilate the Aligarh University during the Non-Cooperation Movement.

I hesitate to reply to Nawab Md. Ismail Khan ~~or to take any action against him without knowing your opinion~~. I am for the moment keeping quiet.

The Academic Council of this University has sent me a resolution asking me to invite Sir Maurice Gwyer to deliver the Convocation Address, but I am taking no action on it.

The University vacation has been extended up to the 26th July. I am proposing to attend the meeting of the Bangalore Institute of Science on the 21st July and I pass Bombay on the 23rd in my way back. I arrive Bombay about 4 p.m. and leave the same night about 10 p.m. I will come and see you.

Yours sincerely,

Copy

No. 359.

Wilayat Manzil,
Aligarh.

7.7.41.

Dear Sir,

The original of our resignation, herewith enclosed, has been signed by Nawab Md. Ismail Khan Saheb of Meerut, and Doctor Zakir Husain Khan Saheb of Delhi. They have authorised me to sign the fair (typed) copy on their behalf and this I have done.

Yours faithfully,

Sd. Md. Habibullah Khan

To

The Vice-Chancellor,
Muslim University,
Aligarh.

Wilayat Manzil,
Aligarh.

7th July 1941.

Dear Mr. Vice-Chancellor,

It is with sincere regret that we have decided to resign from the membership of the Executive Council of the Muslim University. We have been forced to take this decision because we feel that you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, have once again chosen to administer the University on party lines. Unscrupulous electioneering and party administration are, in our opinion, fatal to the growth of sound academic life at a university centre, as our own experience in the past has shown beyond doubt. You would remember how the Rahimtoola Inquiry Committee, after a detailed and comprehensive investigation, diagnosed those as the chief causes of unhealthy developments at Aligarh. We are sincerely sorry to note that that spirit of factious party rule has returned to our University. The signs of such a return were noticeable from the manner in which elections to the Court were being conducted for sometime. They became obvious at the last meeting of the Court. That an innocuous proposal by some eminent well-wishers of the University to postpone the election to the post of Vice-Chancellor in order to come to some agreed decision was not given even a fair hearing by you and your supporters; and that although, owing to some unworthy remarks made by a member, a

fairly large number of members had left the meeting of the Court while this proposal for postponement was still under discussion, the rest of the members under your direction and with your approval proceeded to elect you as Vice-Chancellor, show unmistakably that the spirit of party and faction has come back to Aligarh in all its intensity. It makes us sad to think of the consequences of this return. We wish to disassociate ourselves from it in as unmistakable a manner as we may, and hence tender our resignation from the Executive Council of the University.

Yours faithfully,
Sd. Md. Ismail Khan (of Meerut)
Sd. Zakir Husain Khan (Of Delhi)
Sd. Md. Habibullah Khan (of Wilayat Manzil, Alig

The Vice-Chancellor,
Muslim University,
Aligarh

mohammad amir ahmad
mahmudabad

My dear Uncle,

"Normal traffic has been resumed between Bombay and other parts of India" was the news that encouraged me to write these few lines.

Punjab has invited us in September and I have already sent you a copy of the letter which I received. So that's settled.

The planning committee is a huge affair, with lots of responsibility and to say the least, the committee is thoroughly unrepresentative. I had written to all the members for coopting a few experts. The replies that I have received are herewith enclosed. Mr. S N A Jaffry who since the last by-election had suddenly developped an affection and love for the Muslim League has replied in a most queer way. It is not necessary (that's what I think) that all the members of the Committee should be members of the Muslim League. We want expert advice and we

should get it from where ever & from whomsoever possible. The Congress national Planning Committee did not consist purely of Congress men. Zakir Hosein and Ghulam-us-Sayyadain are educationalists of unquestioned eminence, why should not they be included? They know more about Education than Dr Zia-uddin does. He may be a good mathematician but that does not mean that he is an educationist as well. as to the 7th name I doubt whether he will accept it but as to rest I don't see any reason why they won't accept.

a copy of my letter and their reply received from Dr. Allama S N A Jaffrey is herewith enclosed.

with best regards.

yours

Amin

15/7/41

S/O No. S.485/41 —

Simla, July 16, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wonder if you will remember the occasion on which we last met. I was then passing through India in the course of a tour as editor of the "Round Table", and for my part I remember very vividly a most interesting hour's conversation that I had with you in your house in Delhi, or rather the house in which you were staying. I have returned to India in an official capacity as Reforms Commissioner, but I hope that this will not prevent the renewal of our acquaintance on an informal and personal footing.

2. I hope to be in Bombay from the 30th July to the 8th August next. I wonder if you are likely to be there then, and, if so, whether I might have the pleasure of meeting you again for a private and informal talk. Perhaps you will allow me to get into touch with you, either after my arrival or when my plans are more definitely fixed, and make an appointment.

Yours sincerely,

H. V. Hodson

M.A. Jinnah, Esq, M.L.A.,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

Khan Rabb Navaz Khan,
B.A., LL.B., Pleader

786

Ferozepur Cantt

Dated 16.7.41 19

To

Mr.M.A.Jenah,Bar-At-Law,
President of the All India Muslim League,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

Sir,

1.I joined the League in 1937.Prior thereto also I was a Leaguer although not regularly enrolled as such.I helped the League candidates during the general elections of 1937.Since then I have been devoting most of my time to the League at the cost of my practice even.I am a pleader. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan,Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot,Malik Barkat Ali and all other leading Muslims of this Province know me as a League maniac.I have not only organised the League in my District but also have been taking a keen practical interest in the establishment of leagues in other Districts and in the formation

of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League.

2. But after four years of hard and patient labour I have arrived at the conclusion that the existence of a league in the Punjab is derogatory to the interest of the League. The League aim can be realised only by dissolution of the Punjab League. The present ministry of the Punjab have no respect for the League cause or its programme. They are Unionists, Toadies and self-seekers. Their adoption of the League has served one purpose, viz: the closure of opposition to the ministry from the Muslim quarters. Further, they can refuse response to the call of the All India League and get their conduct supported by the pseudo League of the Punjab. Sincere Muslim leagres of the Punjab are given a step motherly treatment; they are looked upon with suspicion and their activities are watched by the Government. For a candidate of any job it is a disqualification to be a relative of a true Muslim leagre. When the league workers come to me I ask them to expect reward from God and not from man. But in the heart of hearts I know that if their aim were simply to qualify for the heaven they could do it by many other forms of worship and good conduct: through political work they should get

political advantages also.In matters of public and communal concern too the cry of leagues meets no redress

3. S.Dasondha Singh M.L.A. came to Ferozepur in September 1940 and filthily abused the Muslim League. Today he is made a Minister in the Punjab without his making any amends therefor ,although his abuses were brought to the notice of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan and other Muslim ministers.Just a few days back Sir -- Sikandar Hayat Khan delivered in respect of the Pakistan scheme a public speech half-way in and half way out.I enclose herewith a cutting of the Press report published in a semi official organ of this Province.If the League continues to exist in the Punjab Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan will require the Provincial League to form a parlimentary Board which will continue setting up for the Punjab Assembly candidates who will be Sikanderites and not Jenahites.

4. My view is that in the Punjab the League should sever itself from and develope by opposition to or at least independently of the Ministry,or there should be absolutely no league.Whether there be a league or not the Punjab Muslims have become League minded,while to have a regular league organisation is to provide the Ministry with a tool.Or,lastly you should allow rather direct

the Punjab leagures to follow Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan in the straightness of the nose and to spurn you whenever called upon by him so to do.

5. From the individual as well as party point of view a Musilman can gain either if he owes a total allegiance to the Government or if he resorts to opposition or at least in-difference to the Govt; in the hope of getting a relief by some day ousting the present party power. But it is a very hard position to have no faith in and to expect nothing from the Govt; and yet remain tied up in the stable of the Government.

6. I feel that as a league worker in the Punjab I have simply wasted time, money and energy without doing any real service either to the League or to the Muslims. I am however very anxious to raise and carry your banner. Kindly advise me how to do so.

Expecting an early reply.

I am,
Yours obediently,
Rabb Nawaz Khan Pleader.
Hakim Manzil Ferozepur cantt

1, Fontainbleau Cottage,
Simla, July 17. 1941

My dear Leader,

I was told by Sir Yamin Khan who recently saw the Viceroy, that Viceroy was telling him that you were still unwell. I am very anxious to know about yourself and how you are keeping now.

I am sure you know everything what the Viceroy proposes to do next week. He is expanding his Council by separating the Supply from the Portfolio of Law and appoint Sir Sultan Ahmed as the Law member and Sir H.P. Mody as the Supply member. Mr. Aney is to succeed Sir Girjashankar Bajpai, when the latter goes to Washington as India's High Commissioner at Washington

Two new departments — Information and Civil defence — are being Created and Doctor Raghavandra Rau and Sir Akbar Hydari have been Selected to fill in the posts of member for Information and of Civil Defence respectively.

The defence Advisory Council is being revived under the name and style of National Defence Council and rumour has it that the Premiers of Bengal, Punjab and Assam have agreed to serve upon it. Of course the Council will have Indian Princes — Nine in number and "the ~~pre~~ representatives of all provinces and all Sections of Indian public".

There is also a rumour here that as soon as the announcement is made you will convene a meeting of the Working Committee and the Council of the League and decide the line of action the League should follow. One report says that you would withdraw the representatives of the League from all Legislatures, and particularly from the Central Legislature. I will be grateful, if you let me know if you are calling a meeting of the Working Committee and if so when and where. I will like to come down for the meeting

I may tell you for you for your private information that the proposed move is being taken "to Smash the League". For this and other reasons I am very anxious to meet you

Lastly Jamnadas Bajjaj has here today. He told me that the object of his visit was to recoup his health. But people dont come to Simla for their health, as you know

With respects to Miss Jinnah and to my Leader.

Yours v. sincerely

Sikandar

M.A. Jinnah. Esqr.
Bombay

Rawalpindi

17. 7. 1941.

Respected Sir,

I beg to submit my monthly report.

1. The Pakistan Committee started work in Shekhupura on the 20th June 1941. Two parties visited some 40 villages and established 30 Primary Leagues. The touring was fairly sussessful. The following matters require your consideration:-

a. At Nankana Sahib which is a Tehsil Head Quarter an armed party of Nehangs Sikhs came to the meeting place and prevented the meeting from being held by threat or force.

We have not so far taken the matter to the press.

b. We generally found in this district Sikhs armed with spears. The Punjab High Court has declared carryigg of spears (Nishan Sahibs) an offence under the Arms Act, but the Punjab Ministry afraid of Sikh opposition has issued instructio that the Nehang Sikhs should not be bothered. No attempt is being made or is likely to be made by the Government to recover the very large number of spears and other arms in the possession of these Sikhs.

This is a most serious matter. Please advise us in it.

C. The people of the district are extremely ignorant and terribly afraid of the Government machinery. They quite like the Pakistan idea and have established Leagues but if tomorrow

the Deputy Commissioner were to show his disapproval half of these Leagues would disappear. And if the Deputy Commissioner were to sufficiently exert himself most of these Muslmans might become members of the Hindu Maha Sabha.

To take this fear out of the Muslim landed gentry and Muslim masses incessant propaganda and a local struggle against the Government is required.

d. The District League is not bad. The President Malik Mohammad Anwar Pleader and the Secretary Ch. Mohd Hussain Pleader are both genuine leaders and they are sincere. They intend to do a great deal of work and to keep the Primary Leagues we have established active. But they do not give sufficient time to this work. If urged they could do much more.

2. Sir Sikindar Hayat made a speech at a Muslim Students meeting at Lyallpur in his usual style. We have passed the resolution condemning his behaviour, but none of the Muslim papers dared to publish it.

The effect of the Lyallpur incident has not been totally bad. As far the Punjab is concerned it has been rather good. Lyallpur has become even more League minded. Further it has again shown that the Punjab Primier does not represent the Muslim Students.

3, The President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Mian Iftkhar-ud-Din is on tour holding meetings and confrences

for communal unity. He is doing it under instructions from Wardha and with the authority of the Unity Conference of Leaders held in Lahore. He has so far addressed only one open conference this was held at Sialkot on the 13th July and had been organized by the Ahrars. The whole move is to revive the Congress prestige in the Punjab which is going rather low. At the Sialkot Conference the League was not openly condemned but it was indirectly rediculed and nationalism non-violence and communism were preached. [we intend to pass a resolution]

Unless we receive any instructions from you saying that this communal Unity move is not a genuine and sincere move but a snare and that we should have nothing to do with these Unity Boards and Unity Conferences.

4. The Committee intends to start work in Rawalpindi from the 25th of July. I have come here to arrange for the programme etc. At present the membership of the Rawalpindi District Muslim League which possesses no branches in the district consists of two the President who is a Khan Bahadur and the Secretary who is a Khan Sahib. They sent their resignations last year but have now been persuaded by Sir Sikandar Hayat that it is in the best interests of the Muslmans that they should be the Rawalpindi District Muslim League and so have withdrawn their resignations. They formerly and seriously put it before me that they would be willing to support us if our Committee set up

Zamindara Leagues in the villages and not Muslim Leagues. As far Pakistan, they hold that it has already been accomplished. "Is'nt the Premier of the Punjab" one of them asked me " A Musalman".

This district of Rawalpindi is a very important recruiting centre, and all the gentry consists of Government Military Contractors and Military Pensioners, . This district is perhaps the most reactionary and'loyal' in the reactionary and 'loyal' Punjab.

With your advice and encouragement we shall conquere this x citadel of Toadies and reactionaries.

With respectful regards

Yours respectfully,

Zafrulla Khan Malik.

Charirman Pakistan Committee
The Punjab Muslim Fedration and
Deputy President,
The Punjab Muslim Students Fedration

Address:-
Z. K. Malik.
Village Gorali,
District Gujrat. (Punjab).

MINISTER
GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL

3, Wellesley 1st Lane,
Calcutta,
18th July, 1941.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of the cheque for Rs.100/- which is Mr.Jinnah's contribution to the relief fund, and for which many thanks. Will you kindly convey to Mr.Jinnah our very grateful appreciation of his donation as well as of his message in support of the relief fund?

Yours sincerely,

Shaheed Suhrawardy

M. H. Saiyid Esq.,
Secretary to Mr.M.A.Jinnah,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay.

Burhanpur,

Dated 18th July, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am very sorry to inform you of the death of my younger brother Mohammed Akbar aged 35,on the 12th inst . at Indore while on his way back from Dewas where he was under treatment after a protracted illness from T.B. I, however, could bring his dead body here by car and buried him the next day carry--ing the last wish of the dying man. He leaves behind a widow and two minor daughters.

His death is a calamity on me and it has further added to my family worries and anxieties besides increasing my responsibilities. He was ill when I had attended the Patna Session and although he got cured but got a relapse which now proved fatal.

A few years ago my elder brother died also from the same disease and left his widow and children to my care and you can, therefore, very well under-

-stand my present worries.

But I resign to God as it was so destined and as a musalman I must cheerfully bear all these set back in my life. The tragedy of Karbala was the greatest the world has ever seen and the death of my brothers is nothing as compared with that.

May God give me strength enough to bear the shock and may the departed soul rest in peace.

Amen.

Yours sincerely,

Mohammed Asghar

No.E.409,

Office of the Wakf Committee,
Small Causes Court Building,
4th Floor, Bombay.

Dated 18th July 1941.

From

The Secretary,
to the Wakf Committee,
Bombay.

To

M.A. Jinnah, Esqr.
South Court, Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to invite your attention to your letter, dated the 12th May 1941, and to state that I am directed by the Wakf Committee to intimate to you that as you are an ex-officio member of the Wakf Committee under the section 6L(2)(a) of the Wakf Act, your resignation from the membership of the Wakf Committee cannot be entertained.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

A. Q. M. Peshimam

Secretary to the Wakf Committee,

Bombay.

Gul-i-Raána
Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi

Charleville Hotel,
Mussoorie.
19.7.41.

My dear Mr Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of the 15th which I received yesterday. We are very sorry and much worried to know that you are not quite alright yet. May God restore you to complete health soon! Please take care of yourself.

I have received reports from certain Prov. Leagues that they are going to observe the Muslim League week as they were directed by the Working Committee. This should give a fillip to the League work.

As regards the English weekly I am doing my best to find a suitable Editor. If I can find some body I can manage to bring out the [illegible] without any delay. I have asked some people to suggest some names. [illegible] that were [illegible] that-

we should advertise for an Editor. I am not so sure if this will be a very suitable procedure to follow because if after advertising we do not bring out the paper immediately it will not be a very good thing and I am very doubtful if we will get a suitable person through advertisement. However I am doing what can be done. Could you not suggest some one who could edit the paper? I am prepared to pay up to Rs 250/-/- a month to a suitable person because I have prepared the estimate on the basis of this salary for the Editor.

I am going down to Delhi on the 24th of this month and shall stay there for some days. From there I shall go to Aligarh for the meeting of the Executive Council of the University on the 27th. You must have read in the papers that Nawab Ismail Khan and two others have resigned from the Executive Council of the University as they have no faith in Ziauddin. I have received several communications from Raja Mahmudabad and others in this

Gul-i-Raana
Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi

connection and so did the Nawab of Rampur who is the Pro-Chancellor and who is up here. It appears that it might develop into a crisis and Aligarh may once again become an arena of Party warfare. I have discussed the matter with Nawab Ismail Khan who came up here and feel that the matters can be smoothed over if Dr Ziauddin would play the game. You know what a number of people think about Ziauddin. It will be a great pity if Aligarh becomes hot-bed of intrigues and party warfare. If Ziauddin would listen to reason and work for the good of the University alone I might succeed in making matters smooth I hope he would

You must have seen in the papers that some kind of announcement is to be made regarding the Expansion of the Viceroy's Council. My information is that ~~a decis~~ War Council with representatives of Princes and people of British India is also to be set up. I do not know if you were apprised as to what were the proposals of the Govt. However it might be necessary to have a meeting of the Working Committee after the announcement is made to take stock of the situation. I shall be in Delhi from <u>the 25th</u> of this month for at least a <u>week</u> and if you would want to call a meeting of the Working Committee or the Council you would kindly communicate your wishes to me at my Delhi address during that time. Delhi I understand is terribly hot but I have to go there — rain or no rain.

Our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah who we hope is keeping very fit, and love from Ashraf and Akbar.

Yours sincerely

Liaquat Ali

HASNAIN MANZIL

G A Y A.
19-7-41

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Yesterday on my return from a long tour I found your letter of the 13th. inst. I am going to Patna tomorrow to a W.C. meeting of our League; I shall ask the Secretary to send all the papers about our deputation to the Governor to you,

The main demand of ours was to have the riots cases tried by Special Tribunal, in place of ordinary courts. Invariably Muslim's death in Communal clashes in Bihar Province have gone unavenged, in ordinary trials. We are afraid that the 28 Muslims killed in this riot, will cry in vain for retribution from their murderers, if ordinary trial is held. I am therefore moving a resolution at the meeting on the 20th inst that a day be fixed as Bihar-shareaf day: to hold meetings

and voice our demands regarding thisriot.

The Bihar Government is positively hostile , as the two Advisers are pro-Congress and the Chief Secretary is a Marhatta Our own Executives believe more in cajoling than even browbeating; so we are in a fix.

With best wishes and respects,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Hossain Imam

4 A Nazir Ahmad Road,
Aligarh. 20. 7. '41.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am taking the liberty to write so soon again, as I have to communicate to you an important piece of information which I have been able to obtain. Apropos the three vacancies in the Executive Council of the University Dr. Ziauddin has the following names in mind:- 1. Nawab Sadar Yar Jung (local) 2. K. B. Mohammed Sulaiman, Superintending Engineer, New Delhi. 3. K-B. Maqsood Ali Khan, Retd. Collector, Lucknow.

So far as no.1 is concerned there is not much to choose between Nawab of Chhatari and Nawab Sadar Yar Jung: so there need be no objection to the latter's being elected. For no.2 Dr Ziauddin advances the plea that his inclusion is desirable in view of the expansion of technical and industrial education in the University. But surely we must have at least

an good public man. K. B. Maqsood Ali Khan has no particular claim or qualification. I hope you will insist on Dr. Ziauddin accepting one of the names mentioned in my last letter or any other you may have in view. Sir Abdullah Haroon I believe will be suitable as he competent to advise on technical and industrial matters besides being a zealous Muslim Leaguer.

I hope you will very kindly let me have your advice on ~~the~~ other matters mentioned in my previous letters.

Yours Sincerely,

Jamiluddin Ahmad.

OFFICE OF
Malik Barkat Ali
M.A., LL.B., M.L.A.
Advocate, High Court,
LAHORE.

TELEPHONE NO. 4178

19, Temple Road,
LAHORE.

Dated 21.7.41 *19*

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have just returned from Lyallpoor where the Muslim Students had convened a Pakistan Conference under my Presidentship. You will be glad to learn that the Conference was a great success. I enclose a copy of the Resolutions passed. It was at Lyallpoor that I realised the wave of resentment which Sir Sikander's speech of a fortnight previous had spread amongst the Muslims of that great town. I am sorry that Sir Sikander indulged in rank abuse of Pakistan at that place. He called it 'Lugwastan' (abomination) and went to the length of saying that the idea behind Pakistan was that of tyrranising the Hindus. The boys and the audience met these remarks of his by such shouts as 'Pakistan Zindabad', Qaid-i--Azam Zindabad'. Not a single man shouted Sir Sikander Zindabad. This infuriated him so much that he uttered the following words I, Sir Sikander, may be a sinner

but I say my prayers regularly.Your Qaid-i-Azam does not say even a single prayer in the day------.
Your Qaid-i-Azam's policy has ed to riots in his own Province. See my policy.There are no riots in the Punjab. The speech was simply an unspeakable speech.I believe, the time has come when you should atleast xxxxxx release the Punjab Provincial Muslim League from his grip.Everywhere I go,the people tell me that the League Organisation is dead and that it is impossible to accept Sir Sikander's Provincial League.It is my duty to inform you of the feelings of the Musalmans of the Province.I am proud to say that amongst the Musalmans of the Province,your name is magic.The League must take advantage of this xxxxxxx wave of feeling in favour of Pakistan.Sikanderis only with the League in order to capture the League's seats in the Towns.I hope you received the copies of my Address at the Conference.You will be surprised to hear from me that the Deputy Comm--issioner of the place was,under phonic instructions, ordered to see that the Conference did not take place. But the Muslim Students of the Federation overcame all these impediments.I was glad to see the impression that my Address which was rendered in Urdu created on the audience.In the sitting at night which followed my

Address,the gathering was a mammoth one.

With my best regards,

Yours Sincerely

M. Barkatullah

To,

Qaid-I-Azam M.A.Jinnah Esq,

Bar-at-Law,

Mount Pleasant Road,

Malabar Hill,Bombay.

Resolutions Passed at Pakistan Conference Lyallpoor.

1. That this meeting of the Pakistan Conference held under the auspices of the Lyallpoor Muslim Students Federation, hereby records its most unshakeable and complete confidence in the leadership of the Qaid-i-Azam and declares that if any political group or party in India wants to secure the friendship of the Muslims of India it must first deal with and negotiate with the Qaid-Azam who alone is in a position to speak with authority and deliver the goods on behalf of Indian Muslims.

2. That this meeting of the Pakistan Conference held under the auspices of the Lyallpoor Muslim Students Federation hereby dissociates itself from the unfortunate sentiments to which Sir Sikander gave expression in his speech at Lyallpoor on the 5th of July 1941 and repudiates as utterly untrue his definite [illegible] and categoric statement that the Pakistan idea is motivated by a desire to tyrranise and secure domination over the Non-Muslim Minorities living in the Pakistan area. This Conference assures all Non-Muslims of the desire of the Pakistanees to live on terms of the fullest amity and brotherliness with their Non-Muslim neighbours and takes this opportunity of declaring that the only idea behind Pakistan is that of Self-Determination not only for the Muslim Nation of India, but also for the Hindu Nation,

coupled with the earnest desire that this country may achieve real freedom and a truly honourable place among the free and self governing Countries of the world.

3.

That this meeting of the Pakistan Conference held under the auspies of the Muslim Students Federation deems its duty to impress upon the British Government the real whole-hearted support of the Muslim Nation as a body and not of a few individuals for its war effort in that life and death struggle in which it is at present engaged with the dark forces of Hitlerism, it must en-gender a spirit of confidence and trust in the mind of the Qaid-i Azam and give him the necessary assurance about the future of the Muslim Nation so that all doubts and suspicions may be dispelled and the Muslims enabled ~~in accordance with their true genius and ~~~~the~~ undying spirit of their historical traditions and their cultural heri-tage~~ to play their part as worthy sons of ~~a Great and [illegible]~~ Islam with the Hindu and Muslim Nations running their respective Governments in accordance with their true genius and the undying Spirit of their historical traditions and their cultural heritage.

Confidential & Personal.

Sadar House,
S u r a t.
22nd July 1941.

My dear Jinnah,

The "Times of India" of the 22nd, to hand this morning, gives the list, with photographs, of the additional members appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council, and the names of the members appointed to the National Defence Council. Some Muslim names, on both these lists, shock me, as far as I am concerned, as guilty of the highest indiscipline, for instance, the name of Sir Sultan Ahmad, whom I have always understood to be a Leaguer. Sikandar Hyat and Fazlul Huq, and even Chhatari and Saadulla Khan are there, the former two, once again and for the thousandth time, to defy the authority of the League and set at naught the dictates of the Qaide-Azam. This is not the first time I have drawn your attention to it, for, if you remember, once in the Working Committee, I openly impeached the conduct of Sir Sikandar, and understood you to connive at it as a matter of expediency and far-sighted policy. Of late, however, both these gentlemen have, to my mind, gone beyond toleration. I am writing this to inquire, if I may, as a staunch follower of the League and one, who has credited himself for having almost a blind faith in the Leader, as to how a man like me, who may kindly not be taken as a tagrag and bobtail in the League, nor as one who talks through his philosophic and poetic hat, should adjust himself in the League fold. Fazlul Huq and Sir Sikandar, in particular, have not lost an opportunity, if I have followed their activities correctly,

to lower the prestige of the League and even to imply and indicate that you, as Qaide-Azam, do not count for much.

Kindly do not trouble to reply, if your mature consideration moves you to think that I am not making a legitimate inquiry, and if, like (I honestly believe) Gandhi, who, in the case of his old Congressmen such as Sarkar, Aney and Rao, has connived at the action of his old colleagues - they may have dissented from him for some time past, but I have always taken them to be his Fifth Column - you too, once again, take it to be good policy to keep 'chup' over the action of our friends.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Private and Confidential).

۶ بوٹ کلب روڈ۔
پونا۔
۲۷ جولائی۔

محترم قاید اعظم۔

اسلام علیکم۔ میں پاکستان کے دار الخلافہ (لاہور) کا ایم۔اے۔ کا طالب علم ہوں اور آپکی خدمت اقدس میں چند معروضات پیش کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔

بد قسمتی سے میں اس انٹرویو کے وقت موجود نہیں تھا جو آپنے طلبا کو ۱۳ مارچ کو نیڈوز میں دیا۔ میں اس سے پہلے ہر موقعہ پر موجود تھا اور مجلس عاملہ کا رکن بھی تھا۔ اس انٹرویو میں زیر بحث ایک مسئلہ یہ بھی تھا کہ پنجاب میں مسلم لیگ کو کسطرح مضبوط بنایا جائے۔ آپنے ارشاد فرمایا تھا کہ اندرونی طور پر لیگ کی اصلاح کی جائے اور خود ہر گناہگار یعنی غدار اور خود غرض لیڈروں کو نکال دیا جائے۔ اور اس سلسلے میں آپنے مدراس مسلم لیگ کی مثال

بھی دی تھی کہ کسطرح پچھلی پنچوں سے متحد ہوکر غدار
اور خودغرض لیڈروں کو نکال دیا تھا اور اب وہاں بھی
مسلم لیگ کسی صوبہ میں بھی نہیں۔

قائدِ ملت! اگر آپکو رائے دینی چھوٹا منہ اور بڑی
بات کے مترادف ہوگی لیکن چونکہ آپکو پنجاب سے پوری
طرح واقفیت نہیں اسلئے میں ایک حقیقت بیان کرنے کی
جرأت کرتا ہوں۔

یہ ٹھیک ہے کہ اس لحاظ سے کہ لیڈر غدار اور خودغرض
ہیں اور عوام مسلم لیگ کے ساتھ ہیں دونو صوبوں
پنجاب اور مدراس کی ایک سی حالت ہے مگر ایک فرق
ہے اور بہت بڑا فرق۔ پنجاب میں مسلمان اکثریت
میں ہیں اور مدراس میں اقلیت میں۔ اس فرق
سے ایک بات روشن ہے کہ پنجاب کے لیڈروں کے

ہاتھ میں حکومت ہے[3]۔ اختیارات ہیں جو صدر اس
کے لیڈروں کے ہاتھ میں نہیں۔ پنجاب میں جب کسی
نے ان خود غرض لیڈروں کے خلاف آواز اٹھانے کی کوشش
کی یا تو جیل بھیج دیا گیا یا پیسے سے اسکی آواز
بند کر دی گئی۔ پنجاب میں لیڈروں نے اخبارات کا منہ
بند کر دیا ہے جو صدر اس کے مسلمان لیڈر نہیں کر سکتے
کیونکہ ان کے ہاتھ میں اختیارات نہیں۔

یہ باتیں لکھنے سے میرا مطلب ہے کہ پنجاب
میں جو انقلاب ہوگا وہ اوپر سے نیچے کی طرف
ہوگا۔ نہ کہ نیچے سے اوپر کی طرف۔

اور اسکی ایک ہی صورت ہے (خوش قسمتی سے وہ موقعہ
نزدیک آگیا ہے) میرا مطلب الیکشن سے ہے۔
الیکشن کے موقعہ پر صرف اسی شخص کی مدد کرنی ہوگی

جو مسلم لیگ کے حلف نامہ پر دستخط کریں۔ اسطرح
غدار لیڈروں سے نجات مل جائے گی۔ زیادہ صاف
طور پر مسلم لیگ کے ساتھ ہوں گے یا اسکے مخالف۔
اسطرح اتحادی جنجال بھی ختم ہو جائے گا۔

اس سلسلہ میں ایک اور بھی عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں
کہ جن لوگوں نے مسلم لیگ کا ٹکٹ حاصل کرنا ہے وہ
اپنی درخواست مرکزی مسلم لیگ کے سیکرٹری کے
پاس بھیجیں نہ کہ صوبجاتی مسلم لیگ کو۔ کیونکہ اس
سے وہی خدشہ ہے جو ملتان ڈویژن کے حلقہ انتخاب
کے وقت پیش آیا تھا ملک زمان مہدی اور شیخ
محمد امین دونوں نے ٹکٹ کیلئے درخواستیں دی تھیں
لیکن جب ٹکٹ دینے کے وقت آیا تو سکرٹری نے بحیثیت
صدر مسلم لیگ پارٹی کہا کہ صرف ایک درخواست آئی
ہے اور وہ محمد امین کی۔

میری ناقص رائے میں تو یہ بہتر ہے کہ ایک مسلم لیگ
پارٹی ہو جس نے مسلم لیگ کے حلف نامہ پر دستخط
کئے ہوں بجائے موجودہ صورت کے مسلم لیگ کا وجود ہی
نہیں۔ سکندر مسلم لیگ کو بدنام کر رہے ہے جہاں سمجھتا
ہے کہ مسلم لیگ کے بغیر کامیابی ممکن نہیں وہاں اس کا
مسلم لیگ کے ساتھ تعلق ہے اور جہاں اس کے بغیر کام
چلتا ہے وہاں پرواہ نہیں کرتا۔ شیخ صادق حسن اور
شیخ محمد امین کے الیکشن کے وقت تو مسلم لیگ کا نام
لیا جا رہا تھا لیکن جب دولتانہ اور افضل حسین کی
موت کے بعد ضمنی انتخابات ہوئے تو دونوں امیدوار
اتحاد پارٹی کے تھے نہ کہ مسلم لیگ کے۔ حالانکہ
لکھنؤ پیکٹ کے بعد فیصلہ ہوا تھا کہ آئندہ ممبر مسلم
لیگ کے ٹکٹ پر کھڑے ہونگے۔

اب سوال مسلم پریس کو ساتھ ملانے کا ہے گو شاید

(انقلاب کے سوا) مسلم کنٹرولڈ تو کوئی اخبار بھی مخالفت

نہیں کرے گا۔ لیکن ضرورت اس امر کی نہیں کہ کوئی اعلانیہ

مخالفت نہیں کرتا۔ بلکہ اعلانیہ حمایت کرے۔ اسکی دو

صورتیں ہیں مولانا ظفر علی خاں کی عزت افزائی کی جائے

مثلاً انہیں مجلس عاملہ کا رکن بنایا جائے یا انکی زیر کردگی

مسلم لیگ کا وفد پاکستان کے پروپیگنڈا کیلئے دورہ

اس صورت اخبار

کرے مثلاً صوبہ سرحد یا سندھ وغیرہ۔ زمیندار ساتھ ہوگا

دوسری صورت میں اگر مسلم لیگ امداد کرے تو

اسکا اپنا اخبار پنجاب میں شائع ہو سکتا ہے

جو ہر موقعہ پر سکندر کی اعلانیہ مخالفت کرے اور پاکستان

کا پروپیگنڈا کرے۔

قائد اعظم۔ اگر الیکشن کے موقعہ پر ہمت کی گئی

تو کوئی وجہ نہیں کہ کم از کم 30 ممبر سکندر کی مخالفت

کے باوجود کامیاب نہ ہوں۔ اب پنجاب میں 1936
کی حالت نہیں۔ جب مسلم لیگ پارٹی اسمبلی میں
بن جائے گی تو سکندر کو مسلم لیگ کی مدد کی ضرورت
ہو گی نہ کہ مسلم لیگ کو سکندر کی۔

ایک اور امر یہ ہے کہ مسلم لیگ نے سکندر کے مخالف
مسلم ممبروں کو جو انڈیپنڈنٹ بنچوں پر بیٹھے ہیں
ساتھ ملانے کی کوئی کوشش نہیں کی۔ وہ ممبر 20 سے زیادہ
ہیں اور اب جبکہ سکندر ڈیفنس کونسل کا ممبر ہو گیا
ہے اور علانیہ پاکستان کی بھی مخالفت بھی کرتا ہے
اور آپ کا اعلان بھی شائع ہو چکا ہے کہ action
لیا جائے گا تو اس صورت میں پہلے یہ حکم دیا جائے
کہ اتنے دنوں کے اندر سکندر ڈیفنس کونسل سے
استعفیٰ دے نہیں تو مسلم لیگ سے نکال دیا جائے گا
تو اول تو میرا خیال ہے کہ وہ مسلم لیگ سے علیحدگی پسند

نہیں کرے گا کیونکہ اسکا خیال ہے کہ اتحاد پارٹی کے
مسلم ممبران en bloc الیکشن کے موقعہ پر اسمبلی کے
ممبر چنے جائیں اور اسکے ساتھ مسلم لیگ کا نام بھی
جیسا کہ وہ اب misuse کر رہے ہیں کرے - لیکن اگر
انہوں نے جرأت کی تو آپ بنفس نفیس پنجاب میں
مسلم لیگ پارٹی بنائیں، لاہور تشریف لے جائیں
یا ملک برکت علی - میاں نور اللہ - راجہ غضنفر علی -
نواب شاہ نواز وغیرہ کو بھی بلا کر مسلم لیگ پارٹی
بنائیں - ان صاحبان کے علاوہ جو اور صاحبان
مسلم لیگ پارٹی کے ممبر ہو جائیں گے ان میں شیخ صادق
حسن - شیخ محمد امین دونوں مسلم لیگ کے ٹکٹ پر کامیاب ہوئے
جس با. چ رشید ہ - کا بالی جگہ جو ممبر ہو گا - میاں
عبد الصمد - پیر لال بادشاہ آف مکھڈ اور صوفی
عبد الحمید کا گروپ -
ایک اور فن یہ ہے کہ آپ نے جو Bold Stand

لیا ہے اس پر قائم رہیں ۔ سکندر کو جرأت
نہیں ہوگی اور اگر اس نے ایسا کیا تو مسلم لیگ پارٹی
اسمبلی میں کام کرائیں ۔

بالآخر ہم یعنی مسلم لیگیوں کی پوزیشن پنجاب
میں کیا ہے کیا ہم سکندر کا حکم مانیں یا نہیں ۔
کہنے کو تو وہ مسلم لیگ مجلسِ عاملہ کا ممبر ہے
لیکن نہ حلف نامہ پر دستخط کئے ہیں نہ مسلم لیگ
کی پالیسی اور پروگرام پر کبھی عمل کیا ہے لیکن اس کا
کا فیصلہ تو الیکشن کے موقعہ پر ہوگا بہرحال موجودہ
حالات میں یا سکندر ڈیفنس کونسل سے
استعفیٰ دے یا مسلم لیگ سے نکال دیا جائے ۔

اقبال ۔

PRIVATE &
CONFIDENTIAL

6, Boat Club Road
Poona
24th July 1941

Respected Qaide Azam,

I am an M.A. from the Capital of Pakistan (Lahore) and wish to place before you some important points.

Unfortunately I was not present in that interview which you granted to the students on the 4th of March at Nedou's Hotel. Before that I was present on all the occations and was a member of the Working Committee also. In this interview a problem was under discussion that is how we should strengthen the Muslim League in the Punjab, and you said that the League should be organised from within and after having organised ourselves we should throw out the selfish and treacherous leaders; and in this connection you cited the example of Madras League and explained how they organised themselves in the initial stages and how they threw the selfish leaders out of the League and how they established a League which is unrivalled in any of the other provinces.

Qaide Azam, although it is like showing a lamp to the Sun, that I should give you any suggestion but as I believe you are not very well aware of the conditions in the Punjab I venture to lay before you some of the vital truths.

It is right that the conditions in the Punjab and Madras are almost the same as regards the selfish leaders are concerned, but there is a very important difference and that is that in the Punjab the Musalmans are in the majority while in Madras they are in the minority. By this fact it is evident that in the Punjab there is power in the hands of the Musalmans which the Musalmans of Madras are denied. In the Punjab if anybody wishes to raise a cry against these leaders either he is sent to jail or he is silenced by money. In the Punjab the leaders have silenced the papers which the leaders of the Madras Presidency cannot do.

By this I mean to say that in the Punjab the revolution will be caused from the top to bottom and not from the bottom to the top. And there is only way to achieve it. Fortunately the opportunity has now afforded itself. I mean the elections. At the time of election we should help only those who signs the pledge of the Muslim League. In this way we can get rid of the traitors. Either they will be openly with the League or they will be in the opposite camp and thus the 'Unionist' epidemic will also be ended.

In this connection I want to say a little more. Those persons who wish to take the ticket of the Muslim League they should send their application to the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League at the Centre and not to the Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League, because otherwise it forecasts

the same difficulty which presented itself at the time of the election in the Multan Division. Malik Zaman Mehdi and Sheikh Mohammad Amin both applied for the Muslim ticket, but when the occasion for granting the ticket came then Sir Sikandar, as President of the League said that there was only one application and that was of Mohammad Amin. My humble opinion is that there should be only one party and that should be the Muslim League instead of the present position by virtue of which there is no existence of the Muslim League. Sir Sikandar is defaming the Muslim League. Where he thinks he cannot do without the Muslim League he remains with the League and where he can do without it he does not care for it. At the time of the election between Sheikh Sadiq Hasan and Sheikh Mohammad Amin the name of the Muslim League was exploited but at the time of election for the seats which fell vacant by the death of Doultana and Afzal Husaini both the candidates were of the Unionist Party and not of the Muslim League, although after the Lucknow Pact it was decided that all the Muslim candidates will stand on the Muslim ticket.

Now the question that remains is how to enlist the sympathies of the Muslim Press, although (except the Inqilab) there will be no paper who will oppose the Muslim League openly. But the point is that every paper should support the Muslim League openly. There are two ways for this. Moulana Zafar Ali Khan should be encouraged, for example he should be taken in the Working Committee; or a deputation should be sent under his leadership for the propaganda of Pakistan in some provinces as Frontier or Sind. In this way "Zamindar" will be with us. On the other hand if the Muslim League is ready to help there can be a paper belonging to the Muslim League, which should at all times oppose Sir Sikandar and support the Pakistan Scheme.

Qaide Azam, if at the time of election there is given a courageous lead there is no reason why at least 30 members should not be successfull inspite of the opposition of Sir Sikandar. Punjab is not what it was in 1936. When there will be a Muslim League Party in the Assembly Sir Sikandar will need the help of the Muslim League Party instead of his help being required by the League.

Muslim League has not tried to gain favour of the Independent members who are against Sir Sikandar. They are more than 20 in number and now when Sir Sikandar has joined the Defence Council and openly opposes Pakistan and when your statement has also been published that action will be taken I think some time limit should be given that if within the time prescribed he does not resign from the Defence Council he will be thrown out. Firstly I think he will prefer to be within the Muslim League, because he thinks that the Muslim Members of the Unionist Party will be chosen en block at the time of elections, and that he will be able to exploit the name of the Muslim League as he

is doing now. But if he prefers to be out of the League, then I think you should go personally to the Punjab and form the League Party or you should call some of the prominent men from the Punjab to Bombay - like Malik Barkat Ali, Myan Nurullah, Raja Ghazanfar Ali, Nawab Shah Nawaz. In addtion to these members those members who are elected on the Muslim League ticket as Sheikh Sadiq Hasan, Sheikh Mohammad Amin, Baji Rashida; the member who is elected in place of Gauba, Myan Abdus Samad, Pir Lal Badshah and Sufi Abdul Hameed will also come.

You must remain firm in the bold stand that you have taken and Sir Sikandar will not dare to do anything and if he does then you should establish a Muslim League Party in the Assembly.

In conclusion, what is our - Muslim Leaguers' - position in the Punjab, whether we should obey Sir Sikandar or not. Although he is a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League but he has neither signed pledge of the Muslim League nor he has acted according to the policy and programme of the League. This question will be decided at the time of election but according to the present conditions either Sir Sikandar should resign his membership of the Defence Council or he should be thrown out of the League.

Iqbal.

Strictly Personal.

Sadar House,
S u r a t.
26th July 1941.

My dear Jinnah,

Your reply dated the 24th instant reached me this morning. Very many thanks for it. This letter, written so quickly on receipt of yours, is intended only to correct, sooner rather than later, a great misapprehension on your part. You evidently thought some words in my last letter to you indicated that I felt the omission of my name from the Working Committee this time as a grievance. Not a bit of it, and please do always take my words as truths genuinely meant. The omission did not disturb me in the least. Not a crease came to my forehead on my finding that I did not appear on the list. I think a leader of your very great and grave responsibilities has the right to pick and choose men of his own careful selection to sit in council with him. If I were the leader, I would do the same and not hesitate a moment to throw out a man, who did not prove to me yeomanly serviceable. In fact, I have often done so, when I had the top hand, on various occasions. Besides, membership on an important Committee like that, and particularly at a critical juncture like this, is not a permanent 'estate-in-fee-simple', that one should claim as a matter of right or resent the loss of it. Please, therefore, do not worry on that account at all. My best wishes and blessings are always with you, wherever I be. In the meanwhile, I feel greatly indebted to you - I state that with an honest belief - for your thoughtful consideration on account of my health. But I am at a loss to find out as to who told you that I was keeping bad health. I am hale and hearty, alive and kicking.

Now that you have given me an opportunity, I will, however, tell you, and make a clean breast of it - I would not have volunteered it otherwise - as to why I have shrunk back from the part I took, to the best of my ability, as a member of the Working Committee. Once in Bombay, in the Working Committee, when I was giving my views regarding the statements of the Viceroy and Mr. Amery, I ended my remarks by quoting a very pertinent couple of lines from a Persian poet, which, broadly paraphrased, meant, "A miss is as good as a mile". You held me to ridicule over that, before the members present, not one of whom, I thought, were qualified to sit in judgment over me. You may take this as conceit. And, further, some of them, I noticed - one or two of them, to my mind, even arch devils - received your remarks with a glee, which bespoke of their mind and attitude towards me. All that came as a rude shock to me. My philosophy and poetry, the two great supports which have made me what I feel I am, however, helped me to undermine that and bear it with strength. But, again, on a second time, at the Committee meeting at Delhi, you repeated the same sentiments about me, and referred to me as a poet and a philosopher, known to you from our student days, over which, if you remember, there was a great laughter amongst the members, which, to my mind, interpreted as if I was talking through my hat. When the meeting was over, if you remember that also, I actually spoke to you, when we dispersed, that I felt your remarks; not so much as coming from you - because many things are said between pals, which do not signify much - but when that definitely lowered me generally in the estimation of the members of the Committee, I felt it was time for me to shrink back; for, evidently I felt I was not wanted. ~~There,~~ I have now said everything! I had kept silent over it all these months, with the honestest intention of not detracting your mind on the question of the personal feelings of a "philosophic fool", from your many other

onerous avocations, and let this letter also not disturb you the least. Please forgive my outspokenness. Self respect and perhaps, what you might like to call, over-sensitiveness, combined, have perhaps brought on this self-denying mood in me.

With best wishes,

I am,
Believe me,
Dearest Jinnah,
Always yours,
am K Dehlavi

The Punjab Muslim Students Federation,

(Affiliated with The All India Muslim Students Federation,)

LAHORE

1, Suleiman Buildings,
Dil Mohammad Road

No.________

DATED 4th August 1941.

Qaid-e-Azam,

Assalam-o-Aleikum

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th July 1941.

Your appreciation of our point of view and efforts is an inspiration to us.

We keenly wait the day when we will able to open our hearts before you.

Meanwhile I resume the story of our struggle from where I left it on the 23rd of July 1941. On that very day I left for Rawalpindi. Two grand public meetings were held there in the city and in the Cantonment on the 24th and the 25th, respectively, in support of your first statement after the expansion of Viceroy's Council. You will see the details of the meeting and the resolution passed there in the accompanying cutting from Daily Zamindar.

Thereafter I returned to Lahore. As you will see from a cutting of the Civil and Military Gazette dated 30.7.1941, a part of the so-called "Muslim Press" of the Punjab had turned hostile to you immediately after your

The Punjab Muslim Students Federation,

(Affiliated with The All India Muslim Students Federation,)

LAHORE

No.________ DATED ________________19

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condemnation of Sir Sikander. Our reaction to this treachery was both energetic and in time. You can see the details from the accompanying cutting of the Civil and Military Gazette dated 31.7.1941, the Eastern Times and the daily Ihsan. Our exertions have not proved fruitless. One of the delinquent papers has already approached us and is giving assurances that it would support Qaid-e-Azam in any action he might take against the Evil Genius of the Punjab.

On the Ist of August 1941, I went to Amritsar. A well attended meeting was held in the Kheruddin Mosque and your second statement in which you have clearly named the traitors, was strongly supported. Details and resolutions in the accompanying cutting of Daily Shahbaz.

Qaid-e-Azam I assure you that if you once remove all incurable excrescences from the Organism of the Millat, then (and only then) healthy youth will come out and things will take a turn that may fulfill our wildest dreams.

New models cannot be turned out from old machines and new ideas cannot be accomplished by old foggies. New situations demand new methods. Of course the link with the past cannot be abruptly broken. But any how the Pull

The Punjab Muslim Students Federation,

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LAHORE

No.________ DATED ________________19 .

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must be onwards and not backwards.

We are happy that in your person we have got a Leader who knows the innate desires of the youth of his Nation, and has the courage to deal with traitors.

Yours truly,

Mohammad Abdussattar Khan Niazi M.A.

Secretary

The Rur[illegible] Committee,

The Punjab Muslim Students Federation.

Mamdot Villa, Davies Road.

Lahore ~~8th~~..................19...
7th. August, 1941.

Dear Qaid-e-Azam,

The Lahore City Urban Constituency has become vacant because the member representing it (Mr. K.L.Gauba) has been declared by the High Court to be an insolvent. The bi-election in this constituency is expected to be held in September. As several individuals were getting busy canvassing the support of Voters, I thought it necessary to give a warning to the Muslim Voters that the Muslim League will put up a candidate to contest the bi-election and that they should, therefore, keep their votes in reserve for the Muslim League Candidate.

Since my above announcement in the local press four candidates have upto this time applied to me for Muslim League Ticket, and a meeting of the Provincial Parliamentary Board, which consists of all the members of the Provincial Working Committee, has been fixed for the 17th of August to select a suitable candidate from among all the applicants.

Our effort naturally is to select such a person who

may be popular among the Muslim Masses, and whose loyalty with Muslim League may be established by his past career. This is very essential to ensure the prestige of the Muslim League, and every care will be taken to select one whose success also may be sure and certain against other candidates. I look to you for your support and shall be very much obliged if you will kindly ~~send to me,~~ issue a statement in the press advising the Voters of this constituency to give their whole-hearted support to the Muslim League Candidate to be nominated by the Provincial Parliamentary Board. If you will kindly send a copy of the same to me also I will have it published in the local papers.

I have not been keeping good health during the past two months, but have now improved considerably and hope to meet you at Bombay on 24th instant, and will have personal talk regarding other important matters also.

Yours sincerely,

Shah Nawaz Khan.

Mohamad Ali Jinnah, Esquire,
President, All India Muslim League,
Bombay.

OFFICE OF
Malik Barkat Ali
M.A., LL.B., M.L.A.
Advocate, High Court,
LAHORE.

TELEPHONE NO. 4178

19, Temple Road,
LAHORE.

Dated 8.8.41 19

My Dear Qaid-i-Azam,

I have received the intimation about the meeting of the Working Committee to be held at Bombay on 24th August and hope to join it.

In the meantime, it is necessary to apprise you of the situation in the Province. The various parts of the Province are vieing with each other in their de--claration of the fullest faith in you and their desire to see that the Muslim League is purged of its traitors. In this connection the greatest credit must go to the members of the Muslim Students Federation who have virtu--ally dedicated themselves to this service and in parti--cular to their leader, Mr. Abdul Sattar Niazi. I am glad that at a time when I thought that I would be single--handed, there has sprung up an army of workers. The Provincial Muslim League is utterly dead, being under

the control of the Premier of the Punjab. When the question of amending the Constitution of the Provincial League was raised so as to bring it into line with the Madras Constitution, the matter was shelved as unnecessary. At the present moment, the seat in the city of Lahore filled by Mr. Gauba has fallen vacant and a Unionist follower of Sir Sikander is bound to be put up in the name of the League. The Muslim Students Federation are feeling very restive and say that they cannot allow such a situation. I entirely agree with them and feel that it will be a tragedy if Sir Sikander gets his nominee re-turned from this great city in the name of the League. The Muslims of the city are anti-unionists and in order to silence their opposition the name of the League will be used. My position is a most anamolous one. While I desire to see a true Leaguer returned, I cannot act directly or indirectly because the official League organ-isation is in the hands of Sir Sikander. I have no doubt that any body whom you bless with your approval will be easily returned. The Muslim Students Federation are probably waiting on a deputation on you with some such purpose. They wanted me to join the Deputation but I have

told them that as a member of the Working Committee and also a member of the Provincial League, I cannot act against the mandate of the Provincial League howsoever repulsive and distasteful.

It is understood here that Sir Sikander is arrang-ing a meeting of the Unionists party to get from them a mandate of approval of his policy and to use this vote of confidence as his ground for resigning from the League. He is in this way forestalling the action which the Working Committee might take against him. My own view is that this open violation of the League mandate by Sir Sikander and others must be punished and the League purged of such ele-ments. Of course, if any Muslim Premier resigns the member-ship of the Defence Council in obedience to the League mandate, I will not touch him, as his conduct would be the best vindication of the authority of the League. It is being stated in the local press that Sir Sikander will not budge an inch from his position. The local Muslim Press is receiving a sum of about Rs 25000/- a year and naturally dance to its tunes. But this should not deter us. My own idea is that the League will come

out the stronger after this ordeal,but please see that the name of the League is not used in future by Sir Sikander for getting his nominee returned from the urban areas. The truth is that the present Provincial League should be disbanded.More when I come to Bombay.

With all regards,

Yours Sincerely

M. Barkatter

To,

M.A.Jinnah Esq,

Bar-at-Law,

Mount Pleasant Road,

Bombay.

STRICTLY SECRET AND CONFIDENTIAL.

9, GARIAHAT ROAD,
CALCUTTA.
THE 10th August, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

We have been, here, very naturally perturbed over the situation created by the Chief Minister joining the Defence Council and your threat of disciplinary action. I did not write to you so far as I could not see any satisfactory solution of the problem. Maulana Akram Khan wired to you with our approval and is very disappointed that Mr. Fazlul Huq did not resign as he was given to understand. For the present I do not want to enter into the merits of the question but I shall place before you Mr. Fazlul Huq's version, the present public opinion in Bengal on the question and the consequences that may ensue as a result of disciplinary action. My duty is to give you the facts correctly and to place before you my own views so that you may help us out of the difficulty.

Mr. Fazlul Huq thinks that:-

(1) he was asked to join in his capacity as as Chief Minister and it was not possible for him to consult (this is I think correct) and he never dreamt that he was going against the League.

(2) Mr. Jinnah decided to take disciplinary action without calling for an explanation or making a request to resign and this was announced even before the Working Committee or the Council could express any opinion.

(3) He was condemned without a hearing.

As far as (1) is concerned, in view of Mr. Amery's statement and the writings in the Hindu

Press, it will be difficult for him to justify his action though he thinks that if Mr. Amery was to withdraw his remarks he would have a very good defence and may be able to fight the League and justify his action.

(2) and (3) are apparently points in his favour.

Muslim opinion in Bengal, as far as one can judge, is 90% in support of the League, particularly in view of Mr. Amery's statement and the writings in the Hindu Press. Apart from a few of his personal supporters and political jackhals there is hardly anyone who would not support the League.

From our point of view the really important question is the re-actions to disciplinary action against the Chief Minister and what will be the political repurcussions. The answer depends, to a large extent, on what disciplinary actions will be taken. If the Chief Minister is turned out of the League then he will naturally have to give up the Presidentship of the Provincial Muslim League and its Working Committee. He will be free to start another organization and will be immediately taken by the Krishak Proja and other Muslim, anti-League, organizations. This may lead to a certain amount of setback to the Muslim League organization in Bengal but in the long run how far the League will be effected is difficult to forecast. If Mr. Fazlul Huq could get the Secondary Education Bill through the Assembly he will regain a lot of prestige which he would lose by being turned out of the League.

If the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League can step further and call upon the Muslim League Ministers and M.L.As to withdraw their support from the Chief Minister of Bengal then a very serious situation will arise in Bengal. We will all have to resign, the Ministry will have to be reshuffled and one cannot tell whether it will be possible to have a

Ministry at all, in Bengal. We may be converted into Section 93 Province. From the Muslim point of view this will be disastrous. The Muslims of Bengal will go back to the position they were before 1937 and will practically lose the benifit of all the progress that has been made during the last four years. The obvious question, therefore, arises, why are we not persuading Mr. Fazlul Huq to resign from the Defence Council? The reply is that if he had not been threatened with disciplinary action he would have had not the slightest objection to resigning. He objects to being treated like a school boy and being condemned without a hearing. He says that if you had only written to him he would have complied with your request. I cannot vouch for the correctness of the above but this is what he says. His explanation for not resigning on the wire sent by you to Maulana Akram Khan is that had the wire been sent direct instead of being sent through Maulana Akram Khan he would have resigned. (This I heard from a second hand source and not directly from him.) On behalf of Mr. Fazlul Huq it is stated ~~that~~ by his friends that if Mr. Jinnah were to write to him direct a nice letter, as coming from one Mussalman to another and in a friendly way, he will resign from the Defence Council.

Now let me place before you my own personal views for your consideration. League position has been seriously jeopardized by the statement of Mr. Amery and there is no doubt that we are made small. How can League regain its position? Obviously, only by two ways: one is disciplinary action against those who have gone against the League, and second, if the Premiers can be made to resign from the Defence Council. The latter will certainly be a triumph for the League and it will re-establish its position far more effectively if wer can get the Premiers to resign. The position is that if Mr. Fazlul Huq resigns

Sir Saadullah will follow suit. Sir Sikandar will then be placed in an almost impossible position and may either resign or face disciplinary action. Therefore, in my opinion, we must exert our utmost to get Mr. Fazlul Huq to resign. It will be the best reply that the League can give to Mr. Amery. We have here decided on the following course:- The Muslim Ministers, atleast four out of five, will wait upon Mr. Fazlul Huq and request him to resign from the Defence Council. We are also trying to use other influence to make him resign. I have been assured by one who is in his confidence and who, I know, exerts great influence over him, that if you were to write to Mr. Fazlul Huq personally and ask him to resign he will do so. In view of what has happened with Maulana Akram Khan I do not ask you to write to him unless I am certain that on receiving your letter he will resign. Therefore, my proposal is that you should address a letter to Mr. Fazlul Huq, enclose it in an envelope addressed to him, put it in another envelope and send it to me. When I am positive that he will resign then only your letter will be handed over to him and your letter along with his letter of resignation will be published simultaneously. As soon as the letter of resignation is published or I wire or phone to you that it is alright then you can send a wire to Sir Saadullah and follow it up with a letter. From what he has stated in the public it is apparent that he wi[ll] follow suit. So out of the 3 Muslim League Chief Ministers two will resign and the third may also do so. League prestige will be fully vindicated.

I hope you will get this letter on tuesday morning. I shall phone to you on tuesday night at 10-30 p.m. The trouble is that I may not get the connection till 11-30. If the time is not convenient then please send me a wire on receipt of this letter and I shall phone you on Wednesday morning at 8 a.m. As it is possible that you may

not get this letter on Tuesday I shall wait for your wire before phoning to you. Would you, therefore, kindly send a wire as soon as you get this letter, telling me what time will be convenient for you, for me to phone to you.

With best wishes,
Yours sincerely.
[illegible]

M.A. Jinnah Esqr.,

[illegible] [illegible] mistakes as
[illegible] had not time to revise.
[illegible] it to catch the mail.
Sh.

9, Gariahat Road
Calcutta.

the 13th August,
1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You must have received my wire cancelling my previous letter. The situation here changes from day to day and therefore I feel I ought to keep you informed. The latest situation is that Mr. Fazlul Huq has adopted a stiff attitude and refuses to think of reisgning from the Defence Council. No useful purpose will be served by giving his arguments but the real cause of this attitude on his part is that he has felt the pulse of the M.L.As and he thinks he will be able to remain in office even if the League Ministers and the League M.L.As withdraw their support. Yesterday some of us counted the number of M.L.As on whom we can definitely count upon to withdraw their support if there is a League mandate to that effect. I regret to tell you that according to our calculation we shall not have more than 30 with us. The remainder

will not risk going against the Ministry. By combining with Shamsuddin's group and the schedule cast, Mr. Fazlul Huq will be able to get more than 30 and atleast 40 on his side. I believe he also relies on full support from H.E. and the European group who will naturally be with him on this question. As far as the general public is concerned, although, as I stated to you that, 90% are League minded yet in Bengal the position is different from the minority provinces. In the latter the Muslims have nothing but the League whereas in Bengal, with a predominently Muslim Ministry in power, allegiance to the League will, within a very short time, be renounced and only a few politically minded Muslims in the Mufassil will support the League. Besides, Mr. Fazlul Huq and his Cabinet will immediately launch an extreme anti-zamindar and pro-tenant legislation which will win him the support of the masses who are agriculturists and who are not yet sufficiently educated to understand what is good for them in the long run. On top of this the Defence ~~Council~~ of India

Act and its Rules will effectively prevent any extensive pro-League activity against the Ministry and when the Muslims of Bengal will be faced with the choice of going to jail for the sake of the League or supporting a Muslim Ministry with a pro-tenant policy, it is not difficult to imagine what the result will be. The League and all it has stood for will simply go to pieces. There is another factor which has placed the leaguers at a great disadvantage just now. I cannot mention it in a letter but I shall tell you when I see you in Bombay.

The Muslim press is so far solidly pro-League and they are doing extensive propagande in support of the League, but I am afraid that if the Ispahanis give up the "Star of India" and I am not in office then the paper will have to be closed. The bengali daily, "Azad" will be able to hold its own and will, I believe, also support the league policy and so will "Asre Jadid", the Urdu daily of Calcutta, but in my opinion they will not be able to influence the Muslims againt the Huq Ministry.

The above analysis is a fairly accurate and true reading of the situation and it is for your information. We are extremely worried and do not know how this tangle can be solved. In yesterday's Associated Press report the Assam Provincial Muslim League Working Committee, at which all the Muslim Ministers, including Sir Saadullah, were present, passed a resolution agreeing to abide by the League decision. This will, to a certain extent, counter-balance the report from the Punjab about expressing full confidence in Sir Sikandar and sending of a deputation to wait on you.

I hope to be in Bombay on the 23rd morning and will ring you up as soon as I arrive. If possible please write to me giving me some indication of what you think about the whole situation. If you want to ring me up then the following telephone numbers and personal call will find me:-

16th and 17th.... Dacca 53.
19th, 20th and 21st... Alipore 405 or Regent 224.

With best wishes,
Yours sincerely,

M.A. Jinnah Esqr.,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay.

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

Central Office
Dilhi, Aug, I6, 1941

Dear Sire,

Your statement of July the 21st has been hailed by the Muslim Press, and the branches of the League, All -over the country, as voicing the true feeling of the Muslim India. Even the Congress muslim papers held ~~ixx~~ it as couragous. There are only two papers in the Panjab, Inqilab and Shahbas, which are defending the betrayers, as they are committed to support the Unionist Ministry. But they too are apologetic.

I am very grateful to you for the prompt action you took, on my letter of June 30, by drawing the attention of Navabzada Lyakat Alli Khan towords bringing out of the paper you so generously call mine. It had the desired effect. He came down here from the hills in the third week of the last month. We together discussed all the details, and agreed on all points. Since then, I am busy making preparations, according to the agreed plane, to bring out "the Dawn." I hope, you would like the name I have givine to our paper, as it is fully in keepin with your point of view. It does not smack Hindu Muslim.

I have already applied to the Diputy Commission

of Dilhi for the permission to file the declaration. I hope that the first issue of 'The Dawn' will be out in the first week of October.

But now I see that Navabzada sahib has put the matter of starting an English Weekly on the Agenda to be considered by the Working Committee. I feel a little disconcerted at it, as it goes to show that the matter is yet to be decided which I thaught had already passed that stage. Certainly, I am no authority on matters of procedure, but this I know, for certain, that Manshoor had not been considered as a proposition by the Working Committee. Ofcourse I can have no objection to his throwing the matter open before the Working Committee for discussion and consideration even at this stage when, with the permission of Navabzada himself, I am at the point of inviting the propos-ed staff to take charge of their duties; yet I wonder, why this new procedure for 'The Dawn' after the final approval of the President, who has much wider powers to take initiative in any direction he deems proper, then he or the Secretary had at the time the Central office started Manshoor.

I hope my suggestion concerning the meetting of the presidents and secretaries of the provincial leagues has, by now, developed into a practical proposition through your attention, which it is receiving. I am sure it would be very helpful in strengthening the organization,

and in creating uniformity in the work of the provinces, as it would bring all the responsible workers of the League into closer touch with each other under your guidance, and provide them with an opportunity to solve their difficulties and problems, that are confronting them, by mutual advice based on their practical experience of the work in their various provinces; it would also enable you to give definite instructions, you deem necessary, to men responsible for the actual work in the provinces, in this small and compact gathering in the light of the first hand information you would receive from them.

A circular ought to be issued some time earlier by the Central Office to all the Secretaries of the provinces to collect, and bring with them all the information possible about the league work in their provinces, and the necessary data.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely

Hasan Reyaz

To
M.A.Jinnah Esqr
Malabar Hill Bombay

HASNAIN MANZIL.
G A Y A .
18th August 1941.

Dear Mr Jinnah,

You may have seen in the papers that the Bihar Govt has administered a second slap to us by proscribing our unpublished & unprinted Report on Bihar-shreef Riots. I fear that the docile policy of our Provincial M. League is partly responsible for the increasing harshness. As recently as the 3rd inst our Working Committee tamely submitted to the banning of all meetings &c about the Bihar Riots. The Muslim masses are restive and are ready to follow us if we take direct action. But if we fail to take effective steps the League will lose its popularity. I therefore venture to suggest that our President should be called at the time of your W.C. meeting.

The whole of Bihar is solidly behind

you in the disciplinary action which you propose to take. But we feel that the purge should be complete, and should include all these sitting onthe fence and wavering in their allegiance to the League.

I shall reach Bombay on the 23rd inst and will call at your place in the afternoon to report in detail on the Bihar situation.

With best wishes & respects,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Hossain Imam

Important & Confidential

2,Nawab Yusuf Road,
Allahabad
The 5th Sept.1941.

My Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Allow me to congratulate you on the masterly tact and ability with which you handled the League situation.The prestige of the League has undoubtedly gone up much to the discomfiture and distress of those who were fondly hoping a split in the Muslim camp with a view to make it out, that League represented only a section of the Musalmans as the Congress represented a large section of the Hindus.Strenuous efforts are being made on the part of the Poona Conference people to outmanoevre the League in collaboration with the Congress by showing lip-service to the Government and making it out that the League is offering non-cooperation at a critical time and thus not entitled to any sympathy of the British Government.Attempt is being made to prove that the Muslims are unreliable elements under the altered circumstances in Iran and other Muslim countries and therefore the Government should trust the Hindus to tide over the difficulties during the war time.Peurile though this attempt may seem on the part of the Poona Conference people yet it may mislead the British Government and the Viceroy as their activities have already succeeded in misleading Mr.Amery and the Viceroy on the expansion question through the help of those leading Musalmans who in their great

folly thought only of personal interest and personal aggrandisement in the eyes of the British Government. The demand of the League for clear declaration, that the British Government will not waver from the position it has taken hitherto and that only an agreed constitution drawn up by the Indians themselves will be acceptable to the British Government and further the Muslims will not be compelled to accept any constituion unacceptable and unpalatable to them, is a vital and right demand. I hope on this point a statement will be forthcoming from the Government though great pressure will be brought by the Hindus on the Government not to reaffirm the previous declarations on this point made by Mr. Amery and the Viceroy. The Hindus will make it out that under the altered circumstances of the world situation today it will be better to have a strong central government as it will be more useful to the British Government than a confederation or a Hindu & Muslim federations of the provincial sovereign units. So far we have made an unanswerable case in favour of the Pakistan. But it seems to me now that Pakistan scheme has become dependant upon the world situation as it would be after the war. We will do well to bear this in mind. Pakistan still holds the field on the basis of reason and argument, if approached with unbiased mind. It is clear that the Hindus cannot impose a central government on us without our consent as we cannot impose our Pakistan without the consent of the Hindus if the world condition shape themselves differently. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that we should succeed in winning the Hindus or we must rely upon the British Government to strengthen our position by the moral help they can give through their

prestige and power as a ruling nation.Even treating our problems seperately without any reference to the world situation we shall have to think of solving our problem by convincing the Hindus of the merit of Pakistan otherwise the Hindus though they are out to snatch away the power from the British Government,will as a matter of fact show lip-sympathy to the Government and make out a case for a strong Central Government of the whole of India which possibly may appeal to the British Parliament.No doubt it will be fatal on the part of the British Government to think so if they are really going to bestow a sort of Dominion Status after the war.The Hindus if they get a scheme of Central Government it will give a fresh lease of life to the British Government in India though it may be for a very limited period but it is obvious that the Pakistan may give a longer lease of life as an interim period to the British Government in India and even if an agreed scheme of constitution is to be launched immediately it will undoubtedly strengthen the position of the British Commonwealth or Indo-British-American federation including other allied nations.So you will see that the Hindus are manoevering to bring about a direct clash between the Government and the League by insidious methods.We must be chary of it.I will not weary you with a long letter.I hope you will not mind my wasting your time with this letter and will spare a few minutes to glance through it.I have some important things to discuss with you with a view to seek guidance in regard to the internal policy of the management of the League affairs.

I shall gladly come up to Bombay to talk over matters with you if you summon me.

With best regards,

Yours Sincerely,

(Nawab, Kt.)

Mr.M.A.Jinnah,M.L.A.,Bar-at-Law,
President All-India Muslim League,
Malabar Hill
Bombay.

-جواب
C.

C/o Hon'ble Shuaib Qureshi
Bhopal, C.I.
9/9/41

13 SEP. 1941

My dear Jinnah Saheb, Assalam-o-Alaikum.

I was exceedingly sorry to have missed the last meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League on the 24th August 1941 for reasons mentioned by me in my letter to Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan which, I hope, he submitted to you as requested by me. I could not undertake the journey owing to very bad condition of my health on account of the great blow which fell over my head on the 10th August last in the shape of the death of my brother Moazam Ali Khan, Bar-at-Law whom you also perhaps knew.

I have carefully watched the developments which followed the historic meeting of the Working Committee and feel great relief and satisfaction

in the thought that you have saved the League from a great Crisis which was staring it in the face. You have really made history and I trust that under your able guidance the League will continue to prosper from day to day and will achieve the aim for which so many Musalmans have sacrificed so much. I congratulate you though rather late, on the success which has attended your measures and pray to God for you long life and health so that the League may continue to derive full benefit of your marvellous intellectual capacities & experience. I hope you will kindly accept my humble congratulations!

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

Begum Mohd Ali

LUCKNOW:

Dated 23rd September 1941.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was invited by the Muslim Students Federation of Bengal to inaugurate the First Bengal Pakistan Conference on the 19th and 20th instant. I was glad to find that the Bengal Muslim student community stood solidly behind the League. The Conference was a great success. It was presided over by Maulama Akram Khan who made a stirring appeal to the Muslims of Bengal to rally round the League flag and fight against al disruptive elements in their society whatever their strength and position. I am certain that if the fight is carried on with determination and resolution, the victory will be ours; but the trouble is that the ministerial party, which is opposing Fazlul Haq, is lacking in enthusiasm. It has no definite programme for the future. When an attack is made the different elements composing the party just rally round to ward it off, as has been in the case of no confidence motion against Shahid and then go to sleep again. Perhaps the Governor of Bengal did not agree to give a promise to Fazlul Haq to call

upon him to form a new cabinet in case a vote of no confidence was passed against Shahid and other Muslim Ministers resigned by way of protest against the idirect assistance given to this move by the premier. Fazlul Haq like a shrewed man that he is at-once changed the front and got the assembly adjourned. Nobody knows what is his next move. It may be that he has gone to Simla to seek assistance of His Excellency the Viceroy to help him in forming an Anti-League platform in Bengal. It is also possible that he may proceed to Bombay from Simla with a view to create an impression that he has been advised by the Viceroy to make up with the League.

2.

In view of this estimate of things, I have begged of Sir Nazim and Shahid to make a herculean effort during the coming months of winter to establish League branches in the Mofussil where there are none and to revive those which have become moribund. I have also asked them to fix upon an alternative to Fazlul Haq for the premiership; for so long as he is certain in his own mind that the Muslim League has no other choice, he will go on attacking them with impunity. When he finds that the other party is preparing for an attack, he may change his colours and

give up his antics. I have also suggested one change in the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, namely, that no Minister should be an office bearer in the Provincial League. There was no opposition from anybody to my suggestion, but I am afraid nothing definite will come about unless you can afford some time to go there for a week and see things done in your presence. It is just possible that Fazlul Haq may start his tour in the Mofussil Districts evem during Ramzan. We should not allow him a free field and start our work, if possible, earlier. If not, at least soon after Ramzan. Maulana Akram Khan's paper 'Azad' is doing immense service to the cause but he is very doubtful whether other Ministers will continue the fight. He has got to be sure of your assistance.

Isphani is a brick and but for him even the work that is being done for the League would not have been possible. League workers have implicit faith in him. But even he is not sure of the ministerial group. I would once again impress upon you the necessity of your going to Calcutta, as early as possible, after Ramzan.

I have one other request to make. The City League Lucknow is holding a Pakistan Conference on a very big scale on November 22nd and 23rd. We have invited Nawab

Mamdot to preside over it. If you could kindly come down for a few hours to grace the occasion, the success of the Conference will be assured. You have not visited Lucknow since 1937 and I think we can rightly hope that it will be given an opportunity to welcome you this winter. I can assure you that I shall try to have as few engagements here as possible.

Yours sincerely,

The Times of India

BOMBAY Sept.26,1941.

M.A. Jinnah, Esq.,
Mount Pleasant Road;
Malabar Hill,Bombay.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received today the following telegram from "The News Chronicle":

PLEASE SEND WITHIN THE NEXT FORTNIGHT 800 WORDS FEATURE ON INDIAN SITUATION WAR ATTITUDE POLITICAL OUTLOOK ETC. NOTIFY WHEN SENT.

I intend putting forward both the Muslim League and the Congress viewpoints and I shall be obliged if y I could see you some time and get your point of view in relation to more recent developments. Would it be possible for you to see me tomorrow, Saturday, at any time convenient to you. If you can get your Secretary to 'phone me between 7 p.m. and 8 p.m. this evening or early tomorrow morning, I shall be gery glad to come and see you. My telephone number is 28051. If you care I can bring the original of "The News Chronicle" telegram with me.

Yours sincerely,

F. R. Moraes

(F.R.Moraes).

108 G Model Town
Lahore
27-9-41.

Dear Mr Jinnah,

On the advice embodied in the Taloe-ai-Islam of September 1941, I enclose a cheque for Rs 100 to be expended by you in connection with the Muslim League of which you are the President and which is playing the role of the defender of Islam in India. I am sending this out of my Zakaat Fund and I am persuaded to beleive that the charge would be legitimate and appropriate.

More than any body else, I am inclined to think that you yourself would be feeling the necessity of starting some All India Fund for the relief of the Muslims in India. The Fund should

be meant for their ecnomic relief particularly That you are not taking the initiative must be due to the scarcity of reliable entities for taking charge and controlling the Fund. This perhaps could be coped with by engaging the services of a few officers and men lent from the Government. The times are psychological and should not be allowed to pass away unavailed. The road which the All India Muslim League is traversing is crying for the need of some All India Muslim Econmic Fund or Bait-ul-Mal Fund or some such institution fulfilling the purpose of Bait-ul-Mal. The whole thing need be an organized one. If it is not to be a Bait-ul-Mal Fund, and should instead be a an

All India Economic Fund, then instead of subscription, shares should be sold at the rate of Re1 per share, the whole amount to be collectable at once. Even an ordinary Muslim under the present-day communal stress and strife is likely to buy at least one share. All this is likely to make a big sum ultimately.

Prepartory to entering upon such a project, it seems necessary that All India Muslim League should have a list of such selfless Muslim Workers who could be of use in such a big organization. So far I have pondered over the matter, I think there are a few such

selfless workers who retired from Government Accaunt Offices. In order to deliberate upon this matter an all India competent Sub-committee need be set up, which should report upon the needful as early as possible They should call a list of such Muslim retired officers and men from Provinces. who are animated with Islamic passion for the regeneration of Islam in India. Even such Muslim Accaunt Officers who are already in service but are considered fit to give sound advice should be consulted unofficially Without ecomic reconstruction of the Muslims in India— we cannot expect wonders and I am inclined to think with a

little intelligent interest much could be done. If Bait-ul-Mal Fund was established seperately from the All India Ecenomic Fund, it is likely that much of the Zakaat charity from among the educated Muslims specially and ineducated Muslims generally will flow into the Fund.

I realize you have too much tremendous to do and you are short of men. But if you could get hold of a couple of Retired Account Officers of honesty and integrity and Islamic Zeal, way will be paved for better and bigger things. I am but a retired Police Officer and not

calculated to be of much use in such ventures.

Yours Sincerely

Abdus samad Khan

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.
3rd October 1941

My dear Khaliq,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd of September. Many thanks for it. In the first place I am very glad that you went to Calcutta to attend the Conference. Of course I followed the proceedings of the Conference, as reported in the "Star of India", but I am very pleased to hear from you that it was a very great success. I also thank you for giving me all the information with regard to the present situation in Bengal.

As regards Mr. Fazlul Haq, really it is most astounding and at the same time deplorable. However, we must face the situation as best as we can. More when we meet in Delhi for the Council meeting on the 26th of October.

With regard to the City League, Lucknow, I am glad that you have decided to hold a Pakistan Conference on the 22nd and 23rd of November. I will see and try my best to attend the Conference. Please organise our people. Ultimately we have to depend upon our own strength. Go ahead with your Conference and make all efforts to make it a real success.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely

Ch. Khaliquzzaman Saheb

Lucknow

- 5 OCT. 1941

My dear Uncle,

Hasan must have written to you concerning the decission we had arrived at about the Council meeting. During my 4 days stay I met Shahabuddin, Nooruddin, Shahid and received news from Haque's party.The pro-league group is all in favour of changing the venue of the Council meeting from Delhi to Calcutta. They all feel that such a change will have great cementing effect on the anti-Haq quartette. At present every one of them is suspicious of the other. Shahid feels that Dacca is slipping and may go over to Huq on the question of dog-racing. Nazim is being forced by the Euoropean group to adopt an attitude of benevolent nutrality.Tamizuddin is calculating and considering whether he will be ablex to return to the council without Haq's support. Khairulanam (son of M.Akram Khan) told me that Haq still wielded great influence over the Bengal masses and that since his paper had adopted= an anti Huq policy the circulatian had gone down considerably.

Let us once run over Bengal. This time is most oppertune. If Allah wills we will crush Mr.Haq, and his party.

There is a personal matter in which I would like to have your opinion. I would like to be insured . Isthe Crown Co. of Canada a good concern to deal with?

With best compliments and affectionate regards,

Yours

Amin

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay

5th October 1941

My dear Amir,

Many thanks for your letter. Yes, I did hear from Hassan regarding the change of the venue of the meeting of the Council from Delhi to Calcutta and I have already written to him pointing out to him the various difficulties. I will explain to you also when we meet.

With regard to the Crown Company of Canada, I do not know anything about it but I shall try and make enquiries and shall let you know, when we meet in Delhi. I may go to Delhi by the middle of October as at present advised and I hope that you will also come a few days earlier before the meeting of the Council.

Yours affectionately

Raja Mohammad Amir
Ahmad Khan

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay

12th October 1941

Dear Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th enclosing a press cutting from "The Mail". Yes, it was very interesting indeed.

I agree with you that the statement issued by Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan is very unfortunate. Similarly I agree with you in deploring the recent conduct of Mr. Fazlul Haq. Their attitude is doing enormous harm to our cause which is above all. It is one of the problems which we have all got to face and put our heads together to deal with. But what do you suggest we should do now.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely

Abdul Hameed Khan Esq

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill
Bombay
13th October 1941

Dear Dr. Ziauddin,

I propose to reach Delhi on or about the 21st, a few days before the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League. You know that there is on the agenda of the Council to consider whether any action should be taken by the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature to show its resentment against and disapproval of the manner and method adopted regarding the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the constitution of the socalled National Defence Council. It will therefore be advisable to call a meeting of the members of our Party on the 26th, but if that is not possible we must have a meeting on the morning of the 27th at 9.30 a.m. as the Assembly is going to meet on the same day.

Yours sincerely

Dr.Sir Ziauddin Ahmad.

FREEDOM ! PEACE !! PROGRESS !!!

LUCKNOW STUDENTS' FEDERATION

GANGA PERSHAD BUILDINGS,

Ref No. 141/41 *Lucknow* 15/x 1941.

Respected Sir,

The Lucknow Students' Federation is holding its fifth Students' Conference here on the 29th and 30th of this month.

We have not heard you for a long time. It is you who inaugurated our first All India Students Conference in 1936 in the same hall in which we are meeting in this month – The Lucknow Students' Federation decided to invite you for inaugurating our Conference – We know that you are too busy but we the students have some claim over our elders –

The students community is an True symbol of Hindu Muslim unity. — This is for us who have no communal problems before us. — We are also organizing a Hindu. Muslim unity conference in the first week of November '94, — We want to invite you for that too. —

Please give me your comments and write

With Respects

Yours sincerely

J. C. Dixit

P.S.

Herewith you will find an appeal please sign it and return

J C Dixit

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.
16th October 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 3rd inst. informing me that I have been elected a delegate to the C. Ward Dist. Muslim League from the C. Ward Primarily Muslim League No. 1 at its meeting held on the 14th of September 1941.

I regret that I was not able to attend the C. Ward Muslim League meeting that was held on the 10th of October, but I am sending you herewith my subscription of Rs 1/-

Yours faithfully

Osmanbhai Rahimbhai Sipahi Esq

10 Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

24th October 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th inst. and while I thank you for the honour you have done to me by inviting me to your conference which is to take place on the 29th and 30th of this month, I regret to say that my previous commitments do not allow me to accept your kind invitation.

May I point out most respectfully that the latter part of your letter is rather contradictory when you say, "it is we who have no communal problem before us" but in the next sentence you say, "we are also organising a Hindu Muslim Unity Conference". The sooner it is realised that the communal problem is there and has defied solution so far, the better it will be for the progress and welfare of the various communities concerned and for the two main nations that exist today in this country viz Hindus and Muslims.

Yours faithfully,

J.C.Dixit Esq
Lucknow.

Shanker Villa,
Nizamshahi Road,
Hyderabad Dn.
24th.Oct.1941.

Dear Qaid-e-Azam,

The zero hour has arrived.For the first time,after the events of 1857,the Muslim India is passing through the most critical period of its history.Weak Leader-ship then deprived us pf our rule but spared us our lives; weak Leadership now threatens our very existence.The Muslim India,young and old alike expects that such Leadership will be avoided and looks to you to give the right Lead.

Sir,once again,the City of Delhi has to decide the fate of the Indian Muslims and I do hope,that the blunders (disunity,treachery,and inaction)of 1857 will not be repeated.What we require at present is a bold united front,no dissenting voice,no Quislings and no going back. We must be prepared to suffer for our ideals,even inviting imprisonment and the gallows.The Hindus and the British should be spoken to in the only language they understand.

The International situation being such what it is,they cannot dare ignore a United stand by us and sooner or later are sure to come to you on bended knees.If they don't,well,the Young Islam knows how to discharge its

duty. I assure you that we are prepared to go the full length with you and to obey your commands whatever these may be.

Forward then, Dear Qide-Azam with a stout & resolut heart, and lead us as you have always lead us, with courage and determination, and the "Promised Land" will be ours!

Let our watchword be "NO SURRENDER".

Always at your beck and call,

Yours in fraternity,

Shaza Khalid

Delhi
25.10.41.

Beloved Qaid-e-Azam,

Please excuse me the liberty of writing this letter to you.

In the interest of Muslim solidarity, which must be much more dear to you than it is to any other Muslim in India, I, although a very humble man in life, appeal to you to forgive Mr. Fazle-Haque for his impulsive and indiscreet letter, and kindly use your influence in persuading other members of the Council who may like to discuss this matter, to regard this incident as closed, since Mr. Fazlul Haque, though he may not confess it, is already feeling repentent for having been carried way by unworthy emotions.

Wishing you a very long life, and glorious success on all fronts.

I am,
Believe me Sir,
Most Sincerely yours.
Niaz Ahmed.
Second Master,
Punjabi Islamia High School
Qutab Road
New-Delhi.

10, Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi

1st November 1941

Dear Sir,

I am very glad to learn that you have started a monthly journal, "THE SPIRIT OF YOUTH" from Lucknow, that will ventilate the feelings and sentiments of our young men.

I hope that "THE SPIRIT OF YOUTH" will not only advocate the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League faithfully and fearlessly but will also provide a scope for those of our young men who wish to take up journalism as their career - a want which is vigorously felt among the Musalmans of India.

I wish you all success.

Yours faithfully,

The Editor,
"THE SPIRIT OF YOUTH"
Lucknow.

MUSHIR MUNZIL,
LUCKNOW.

5th November '41.

y dear Mr. Jinnah,

We were all very glad to learn that you propose to visit Lucknow at the end of November. The Lucknow Muslim Railway Employees' Federation had decided to hold a Conference at Lucknow at the same time in the hope that you might be able to spare them a very small amount of your valuable time and address their Conference. I learn, however, from Ch. Khaliquzzaman that during the two days of your stay here you will not be able to spare the time. In these circumstances I venture to lay before

you the request of the Federation, which, I am sure, will be ~~xxxxx~~ supported by the Muslim Railway employees throughout India, that you may very kindly be pleased to prolong your stay at Lucknow by one day and may graciously address the Conference for a short time, giving Railwaymen the benefit of your advice and encouragement.

I sincerely hope that your innumerable engagements will yet leave you a little time to give to us. The Federation, and other bodies of the same kind throughout India, are badly in need the encouragement which your presence alone can give.

yours sincerely,

Ambashir N. Kidwai

N.B.—The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, is written after the text.

1234

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TO

Recd. here at ______ H. ______ M.

M A JINNAH ESQR M L A (CENTRAL) NEW DELHI

= I HAVE BEEN DETAINED HERE UNDER BENGAL REGULATION

THREE OF 1818 SINCE 1928 ALTHOUGH I HAVE NOT

[illegible] FORTUNATE ENOUGH EVEN TO ELECIT A[illegible]

[illegible]LEDGEMENT FROM YOU TO MY SEVERAL LETTERS

[illegible] TELEGRAMS DURING LAST FEW YEARS STILL ONCE

N.B.—The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, should be written after, but separated from, the text.

MGIPrAh.—188—4-7-41—1,96,700 Bks.

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Recd. here at H. M.

AGAIN I REQUEST YOU TO KINDLY TAKE UP MY CASE OF GRAVE POLITICAL INJUSTICE WITH THE VICEROY AND ASK HIS EXCELLENCY TO REDRESS MY WRONGS THANKING YOU IN ANTICIPATION = MAHARAJA NABHA =

My dear Uncle,

Abdul Majid Khan Sahab representative of the E.I.R. Workers (Muslim) is coming to seek an interview with you and to invite you to Muslim Workers Conferance at Lucknow during your visit here.

If you could spare a little of your time to go and address these ~~labourers~~ labourers, the Congress coffin will have another nail on it. Do accept the invitation.

With profound respects

Yours

Amir.

10. 11. 41

OFFICE
OF THE
PRESIDENT

City Muslim League

KARNAL

Dar-ul-Liaqat
KARNAL
(Punjab)

November 10, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sorry you have not been able to reply to my letter of June 25, 1941, and the reminders sent to you thereafter. The Working Committee of the Karnal Muslim League met last evening and after a full consideration passed a resolution on the subject, copy of which I enclose for your information.

I have been writing to you for the last five or six months with no result. I would like to have an interview with you in this connection as I do not think the matter could be settled through correspondence. Will you therefore be kind enough to let me know when and where I can see you.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

Sahibzada

President.

M.A. Jinnah, Esq.,
President, All India Muslim League,
10, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi.

OFFICE OF CITY MUSLIM LEAGUE

دفتر سٹی مسلم لیگ کرنال

Ref. No.

KARNAL

November 10, 1941.

Copy of the resolution passed at a meeting of the Working Committee held on November 9, 1941, under the presidentship of Sahibzada Wilayat Ali Khan, President, Muslim League, Karnal.

" After considering the entire correspondence between the President of the All India Muslim League and the President of the Karnal Muslim League, in regard to the claim of Rs. 495/10/3 against the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, placed before it,

(a) the Working Committee of the Karnal Muslim League feels much discouraged by the fact that, despite repeated representations made to him, the President of the All India Muslim League has not so far been able to help it out of the difficult position in which it has been placed by the authorities of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League.

(b) The Working Committee after carefully considering the position as it now stands, advises the President, Karnal Muslim League, to try his best to secure the support and cooperation of the President of the All India Muslim League in the matter.

(c) The Working Committee would like the President to let it know the results of his efforts in this direction at its meeting to be held on 25th November 1941, when the Committee will take such further action as it may consider necessary.

(d) The working Committee, however, takes this opportunity to request the President of the All India Muslim League that he will be able to find time to attend to this affair and hopes that he will be kind enough to give his advice which, it is sure, will be most valuable."

10 Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

11th November 1941

My dear Maharaja Saheb,

I have received your telegram and as I have already informed you on previous occasions, I am unable to take up your case as desired by you.

Yours sincerely

His Highness
The Maharaja of Nabha
Kodaikanal

Kashmiri Gate,
Delhi
13th Nov, 41.

Respected Mr. Jinnah,

Knowing how busy you are, I had the courage to ask for an interview (on the phone) since I wanted to congratulate you personally on the expression of self-respect and demonstration of courage - the qualities we lack in India. How I wish your ability, your brave, talented leadership and your selflessness could lead India to complete independence rather than see her divided. You know all genuine nationalists respect you and adore you for your services to the country in the past and are pained to see you urging for the division of India.

I am sure you are capable of offering a better solution.

I admit the problem is very grave but the solution you propose is dangerous, impractical and suicidal.

Please excuse me for so strongly differing from your plan. I hope you will once again join hands with the Congress and lead India to her goal. Hindus and Moslems may have two religions

and a thousand sects but they are sons of the same soil and there is no doubt that we have unbreakable ties in every corner of India. I wish you had lived in my village to see how Hindus and Moslems live like brothers even worship together at the shrine of Pir Jamali.

My second purpose in asking for an interview is to request you to give me a considered and authoritative statement on the communal issue, so that I can incorporate it in my book "The Common Pakasthan". Pakasthan means the sacred land and nobody can deny that India is a Pakasthan. I think both Hindus and Moslem leaders have become unnecessarily hysterical over the issue. They could still sit together and find a solution. What will the future generations think of the present day politicians who have failed to rise to the occasion and maintain India's honour. In my book I propose to make an humble attempt to present both sides of the case. I am doing it independently as a humble son of the soil. I hope that you will kindly co-operate in presenting the whole question before the country.

I can have an interview with you or you may contribute a chapter to present your view.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

Chaman Lal.

L U C K N O W:
Dated 14th November 1941.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Since my return from Delhi, I was getting fever off and on, but for the last 5 days it ran very high. In conseouence, I have become weak but inspite of it I hope to be able to attend the meeting of the Working Committee on the 16th instant. Lately every possible effort is being made by congress groups to come back to offices. The British Government, as usual, is playing a dirty game. The Hindus are taking advange of our resolution dated the 17th June1940 demanding a share in the powers at the centre and in the minority Provinces. They say, ignoring our conditions laid down in the Resolution, that after all the League also desires to take away as much powers from the Bureaucracy as possible and to that extent the cause of the congress is common. The Viceroy with so many of his henchmen around him, day in and day out, impresses upon him the necessity of coming to a settlement with the Congress. In pursuance of the policy of appease-

ment release of political prisoners have already begun. Gandhi will keep his stern attitude intact but the others will play a different role. The Viceroy will be told that it will be a great fete of strategy, if a schism in the congress ranks is brought about by allowing those congress men who want to resume parliamentary activities and there is every fear that he may be led to agree to it by astute Mahratta leader Mr. Anney. When some such settlement is made between the Congress parliamentarians and the British Government, we shall be offered to accept a seat here and a seat there just to keep our mouths shut. I have been groaning under this load even during my illness. I have come to the conclusion that a definite and clear move from our side is necessary to stop this rot. I have drafted a resolution for your consideration, as it deals with a most serious question facing the muslim community at the present juncture, I have no mind to move it in the Working Committee, unless you consider that there is something in it and that

time has come when we should warn the Government that if it enters into any private settlement with the Congress and allows them to come back to offices at the centre or in the minority Provinces the responsibility for that action will be entirely theirs. We have kept the offer open now for over 1½ years. It has not been accepted nor is there any likelihood of its being accepted. Why should we not then withdraw it and demonstrate to our people that in a common centre there is no room for an honourable place for the Muslims.

Yours sincerely,
Khaliquzzaman

10 Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

15th November 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. and beg to inform you that the subject matter of your letter, as I have informed you once, had nothing to do whatever with me, and therefore no useful purpose will be served by my giving you an interview.

I would like you to be good enough to study the constitution of the All-India Muslim League.

Yours faithfully

Sahibzada
Wilayat Ali Khan
Dar-il-Liaqat
Karnal

10, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

15th November 1941

Dear Mr. Chaman Lal,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 13th inst. You say in your letter that you are pained to see me urging for the division of India. It shows that you have not studied the question and I find that most of the Hindus are of that frame of mind. It is the best solution that I can offer. There is plenty of literature available and if you examine it dispassionately and honestly you will find that it is as much in the interest of the Hindus as it is in the interest of the Musalmans. In my opinion that is the quickest way to India's freedom. It shows how much you are misinformed when you say, 'Pakistan means a sacred land'. It is nothing of the kind. You better study the articles that appeared in the book of Khalida Adib Khanum and you will understand the origin of the word "Pakistan".

However, it is no use my discussing the matter further nor can I agree to give an article to you that may find a place in your proposed book.

Yours sincerely

Chaman Lal Esq
Journalist
Kashmiri Gate
Delhi.

10, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

16th November 1941

Dear Mr. Shafi Khalid,

I have received your letter and thank you for your enthusiastic support but I advise you to have patience. We must organise our people properly in the first instance, not only politically but economically, socially and educationally.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely

Shafi Khalid Esq
Shankar Villa
Nizamshahi Road,
Hyderabad Dn.

Personal

Enroute
16th November, 1941

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I am dictating this letter in the train on my return journey from Bhopal. I have just seen the press cutting attached in the Hindustan Times of today and deem it my duty to bring it to your notice. I cannot believe the accuracy of the part attributed to Malik Barkat Ali and trust that this is another ~~way~~ instance of wishful thinking. Any-way such mischief must be nipped in the bud and perhaps you would refer it or mention to Malik Barkat Ali to issue an emphatic contradiction if, as I believe, the news be unfounded.

I am preparing a note for your consideration in the light of our talks in Bombay and Delhi and will bring it to you as soon as it is ready.

Kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Maqbool Mahmud

PUNJAB ASSEMBLY PARTIES

Opposition To Measure Strength Against Govt.

(From Our Correspondent)

LAHORE, Nov. 13.

Inquiries in political circles in Lahore and Amritsar confirm the report that in case the Congress party get permission to attend the Punjab Legislative Assembly a serious attempt will be made by the Opposition parties to measure their strength against the Unionist Ministry.

A agreement is said to have bee reached between the Akali and Congress leaders on the one hand and Malik Barkat Ali, the leader of the independent group of Muslims, on the other hand for the consolidation of Opposition groups into a united party under the leadership of Sardar Sampuran Singh.

Malik Barkat Ali has the support of about 10 to 12 independent Muslim members in this move, but he is understood to have assured the Congress and Akali leaders that if the Opposition parties put up a united front more Muslim members will desert the Unionist ranks and join them.

At present the numerical strength of the parties is as follows:—

Ministerial Party, including 12 members of the Khalsa National-ist Party—113.

Opposition, including the Congress, the Akalis, the Ahrars and the unattached Hindu, Muslim and Sikh members—60.

One seat which was resigned by Dr. Satyapal is still vacant and one seat is occupied by the Speaker who belong to no party, makir up a total of 175.

Council House,
New Delhi.

November 17, 1941.

My dear Mr.Jinnah,

Please accept my respectful and devoted greetings for another great score for the Muslim League in securing amends from the Bengal Premier for his ~~lectures~~ lapses and in maintaining the solidarity of the League with dignity. May you be spared long to lead us!

Yours sincerely,

M.A.Jinnah, Esquire,
M.L.A.,
New Delhi

MAHARAJAH OF PITHAPURAM

PITHAPURAM,
EAST GODAVARI DISTRICT.
Madras Presidency.
1[illegible]-11-1941.

Dear sir,

I am sending you 5 enlargements and 5 contacts of the photos taken by my second son when you were kind - enough to lunch with me at my house " Rosery " . I request you and your sister to be good enough to accept them. I am sorry for the delay.

I hope you are in the best of health.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

R.K.M. Surya Rao.

Farangi Mahel
Lucknow 19th Nov 41

Dear Quaid e Aazam,

you know that Farangimahel is the oldest muslim place of learning in India . The Farangi Mahel Madrasah is under our managment and supervision The Convocation of the institution has been fixed for the 29th Nov at 2. 30 p.m . You are arriving Lucknow on the morning of the same day we shall be very much pleased and grateful to you if you be kind enough to honour us with your presenee in the meeting. The Autho--rities of Madrasah propose to present and address of welcome to you on the occasion . Ihave already arranged with Khaliqu Saheb to include this item in your programe on the day .

Yours sincearely.

Jamal

MOHAMMED AFZAL HUSAIN QADRI.
M. Sc., Ph. D. (Alig), Ph. D. (Cantab).

DEPARTMENT OF ZOOLOGY.
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH.

22-11-41.

My dear Qaide-Azam Mr. Jinnah,

Ass-salam-o-Alaikum. I write this letter to you regarding the Muslim Education. I have been working on Muslim Education since four years. In 1939 as a member of the Edn.sub-committee of the A.I.M. League I contributed to the Pirpur Education Report and showed how the present reorganisation of Education under the influence of Wardha Scheme will work for the de-Islamizing the Muslim nation. In 1940 I prepared and published an alternative scheme for Primary Muslim Education, a copy of which I sent to you for your perusal.

I am pleased that a number of leading Muslim Educationists who think in the term of Muslim League or true Islamic ideology have enthusiastically supported it. I submit to you the following two out of a number of these opinions. Khan Fazal Mohd. sahib the Education member of Hyderabad state commenting on my Education-scheme wrote to the Kamal-Yar-Jang committee that they should adopt my scheme in its entirety. Khalifa Dr. Shuja Uddin Secretary of Islamic College Lahore in a personal letter writes that he is in complete agreement with my conclusions and suggestions Since then & at the suggestions of Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, sahib I am working on the entire aspect of Muslim Education.

You will be pleased to hear that I have nearly completed my work and will submit it in the form of a brochure of about 150 pages. I want and request you to see my main conclusions yourself and if you find them useful kindly help me to put them into force. The Wardha Scheme in its various forms is spreading not only in Hindu provinces but also in Muslim zones, especially in Sindh & Kashmir. It is bound to recoil on the destinies of the

P.T.O.

Muslims. The Kamal Yar Jang Committee has not yet submitted its Report. We can not wait indefinitely and must make a move in anticipation. I am praying against hope that it may provide for our destiny in the term of Muslim League ideology. I have always tried to co-operate with them but they have been rather indifferent in seeking the co-operation of people voicing League idealism and have not yet exchanged any views with us the Aligarh Leaguers formally or informally.

I therefore request you to see that at least some humble begining is made in the form of establishing one or more centres for muslim education along the basis of our ideology. Hope this letter will find you in sound health.

With best wishes

I have the honour to be

Yours devotedly,

Mohd Afzal Husain Qadri

Mr. M.A. Jinnah
President
A.I. Muslim League,
New Dehli.

10 Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

23rd November 1941

My dear Amir,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 22nd. Please don't inconvenience yourself, but if possible I would like to have two rooms on the first floor.

Yours affectionately

Raja Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan
of Mahmudabad
Lucknow.

10, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

25th November 1941

Dear Maharaja Saheb,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th and also the photos. I thank you for your kind thought in sending me the same.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely

Maharaja of Pithapuram
Pithapuram.

10 Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

25th November 1941

Dear Jamal Mian,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 19th November. I regret very much that it will be impossible for me to take up so many things during the course of the day as I am not keeping well and therefore regretfully have to say no to you.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely

Moulana Jamal Mian

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RAJA MAHMUDABAD   LUCKNOW
CHOUDHRY KHALIQUZZAMAN LUCKNOW

EXTREMELY SORRY DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED LAID UP WITH FEVER HENCE NOT POSSIBLE TRAVEL REACH LUCKNOW TWENTYNINETH ATTEND CONFERENCE STOP MY HEART AND SOULD WITH U.P. MUSLIMS AND WISH FROM BOTTOM MY HEART ALL SUCCESS TO CONFERENCE

JINNAH

M.A.Jinnah Esq
10 Aurangzeb Road.   26. 11. 41

Lucknow
27.11.41

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The news of your illness is heartrending. We can sacrifice hundreds of such conferences to give you rest and peace to keep you fit to carry on the huge responsibility of guiding the destinies of the Muslims of India. We are confident that you will not disappoint this historical and politically most important city of the Province of U.P. if you can. If you are weak we can cancel every other programme except your bare presence in the city shedding lustre to all our activities. We can even cancel your official reception if need be. Jamal Mian will explain the situation to you.

Yours sincerely
Khaliq

10, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

28th November 1941

My dear Khalique,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 27th inst. brought to me by Jamal Mian. Do you think I would have sent you the wire had it been possible for me to travel? You have no idea what a wrench it was to me. It is a sheer physical impossibility.

I fully realise the great importance of the Conference. I am advised and feel myself that it will be dangerous for me to undertake the journey in the condition in which I am. I assure you that I would not have disappointed the historically and politically most important city in the province of U.P. if I could have managed to travel. Believe me the disappointment of mine is much greater. I shall never forget how the Musalmans of U.P. specially of Lucknow, the heart of it rallied round the flag of the Muslim League in that historic sessions of the All-India Muslim League that took place in October 1937.

You can therefore well understand the position that the heart is most willing but the flesh refused and in these circumstances I am extremely sorry to disappoint you and your co-workers and the people in general.

But cheer up. The Muslim League is now strong enough to take care of itself. I have no doubt that your conference will be a magnificent success and perhaps another occasion will present itself at no distant date when I will have the honour to visit Lucknow.

With kindest regards

Yours sincerely

Choudhry Khaliquzzaman
Lucknow.

Kodaikanal,

Dated the 28th November 1941.

My dear Mr.Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of the 11th instant. I am quite unable to understand why you are not able to take up my case. You wrote me from London some time ago that you were prepared to take up my case. You told Mr.K:Ramaswami Iyer in Delhi in October 1939 that you will take up my case. I am sure you do not approve of my being kept here without trial since 1928 . The other day a resolution was passed by the Working Committee of The All India Muslim League asking Government of India to release Allama Mashraqi now detained in Vellore without trial for two years. You will see that I am also kept here without trial like him and as such I look to you to take up my case as an Indian and get me justice done and oblige.

Thanking you and hoping to hear from you soon,

Yours sincerely,

(Gurucharan Singh)

From:-Maharaja of Nabha.

OFFICE OF
Malik Barkat Ali
M.A., LL.B., M.L.A.
Advocate, High Court,
LAHORE.

TELEPHONE NO. 4178

19, Temple Road,
LAHORE.

Dated 28-11-41. 19

My dear Qaid-i Azam,

I find from the papers that you were confined for nearly a week and are now much better.

When I last saw you at Delhi on the occasion of the meeting of the Working Committee, I intended to discuss local affairs with you and to bring to your notice the attempt made here on the part of Sir Sikander and the Nawab of Mamdot to take some disciplinary action against me in connection with the last election. You were too busy and I felt that I should not worry you at that stage since I thought that better counsels would prevail, and the Nawab of Mamdot under the order of his chief would hesitate to bring matters to ~~his~~ a head. I have just now received phonic message that the Nawab of Mamdot has instructed the Secretary to call a meeting of the Working Committee for ~~this~~ 6th Dec, and to put in the agenda an item of disciplinary

action against me inconnection with the part said to have been played by me in the last election. I have no idea at the moment of writing of the exact charges against me. When those charges will be communicated to me I will certainly give my explanation. I may here just for your information state that as soon as

p.t.o.

your reply to me telegram as to whether you had approved of Mian Amir ud Din or not, was received I immediately advised Mr. Abdul Sattar to withdraw and he did withdraw in favour of the League candidate. Your telegram said that the matter was for the Provincial League to decide. Abdul Sattar put in his nomination paper after the receipt of your earlier telegram that members were free to put in their nomination papers. It is unnecessary to worry you with further details beyond this that Abdul Sattar withdrew under my instructions and that I advised all my relations here to vote in favour of Mian Amir-ud Din and they did vote. I was not here before and during theelection. I was at Dalhousie. My only part is that after your telegram to Abdul Sattar and myself, I informed Abdul Sattar that he was free to stand. I can explain myself in detail after I know of the charges against me. For the present it appears to me that it is not open to

the Working Committee of the Provincial League to take action against a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. It is certainly open to the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League to submit their complaint to the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League with a view to action against a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. If my view is correct then I would request you, provided you have no objection, to ask the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League to defer taking any action but to submit their complaint and the facts on which they rely, to you or to the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League with the prayer that the matter may be considered by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. My object is merely to prevent matters here taking a very ugly shape. Not that I am afraid of anything in my conduct to which objection might be taken. But I am certain that this proposed action is really inspired by malice and as the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League consists mostly of the members of the Unionist Party I can very well imagine what their verdict will be. I assure you that if they call upon me to explain I will certainly give

my explanation. All I desire is that the matter must be taken out of the hands of a body which consists of Sir Sikander's nominees, and must be considered with full responsibility by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. As a meeting of the Provincial Working Committee is said to be taking place on the 6th of Dec: 1941, I am writing this letter to you to see if my view is correct and whether you can ask the Nawab of Mamdot to submit any complaint that he or his friends may have to the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. I have really taken no part whatever in the deliberations of the body run by the Nawab of Mamdot except that on one occasion I attended their meeting to remind them of their duty to obey the resolution of the Working Committee about the War Committees. I was in the minority of one in their house, but I did my duty. I feel as a lawyer that a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League cannot be subject to any disciplinary action at the hands of a subordinate body and that even if the Provincial body has any complaint in respect of such a member it is their duty to bring their complaint to the notice of the superior authority and move that authority for necessary action. They

cannot convert themselves into a court and sit in judgment on a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

With all regards,

Yours Sincerely

M. Barkat Ali

To,

M.A.Jinnah Esquire,
Bar-at-Law,
Aurangzeb Road,

New Delhi.

The Aligarh Muslim Student's Federation

General Secretary
S. A. M. Hadi,
Naushbandi

Ref. no. 13

Aligarh 29th. Nov-- 1941.

Revered Qaide-Azam,

Aligarh Muslims Students' Federation is going to start its own paper, the 1st issue is coming out on 8th. December 1941. Programme before us is that League and policy in accordance with Islamic laws and further more to propagate Pakistan Scheme. But unless your guidance is with us we cannot do it ourself successfully.

We request you and hope that you will spare a little time for a message, so that we may proudly put that in our 1st issue.

Yours faithfully.

S. A. M. Hadi

10, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

2nd December 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 27th of September handed over to me by Sir Abdullah Haroon, together with your cheque for Rs.100/-, which you were good enough to send to me and which I am to spend in connection with the Muslim League of which I am the President. I thank you for the unsolicited donation and I thank you still more for the spirit behind it.

The various suggestions that you have made in your letter are all undoubtedly sound and very beneficial, but the difficulty is as you yourself point out, of securing reliable workers for taking charge and controling the Fund.

However, I am very thankful to you for the suggestion that you have made. They will receive my careful consideration.

Yours faithfully,

Abdul Samad Khan Esq
108 G Model Town,
Lahore.

Urdu Kothi
Jaunpur
The 4th Dec.1941.

My Dear Mr.Jinnah,

I was grieved to find that you could not come to Lucknow conference as I was looking forward to meet you at Lucknow. It was a matter of great regret and anxiety to us all. However, I am glad that you did not take the risk of coming to Lucknow. Your health is of vital importance to us and I hope you will take care of your health more and leave the work to be done by us under your instructions. Changes in the political situation in India seem to be ominous as is clearly indicated by Bengal and Orissa situations I am sure you will take fresh stock of the situation and will be ready to meet the situation with new solutions conceived in a spirit of compromise, visa-vis the government and the Hindus, leaving the future problem of evolving constitution in accordance with our fundamental principles till after the war. To-day's problem is the question of readjustment, of relations with the British Government and the Hindus with a view to evolve temporary wartime arrangements which may create a better atmosphere for composing our differences with the Hindus in future. Bengal problem must be solved and some viamedia must be found to save the situation even

at the risk of our not having things settled entirely to our satisfaction. Internal disruption has a serious repurcussion with demoralising effect upon the community. The solidarity of the League must be maintained and personal interests should not be allowed to come into play while equal opportunities should be given to those who are willing to serve in a spirit of service and sacrifice, with recognition of the merit of those who serve you loyally and the League. The spirit of cooperation must be the watchword and not a spirit of scramble or elbowing out each other inside the League. The spirit of "Okhwat"(brotherhood), rather than sectional or factional spirit, should be allowed to hold sway inside the League. If League is to represent the whole community barring the recalcitrants and self-seekers then the spirit of that tolerance which you have so generously shown to Mr. Huq, should inspire us all in the higher interests of the community. Bearing in mind the human nature the reward and encouragement must also be there for those who have service and sacrifice with them not to mention the merit which alone can maintain and win the respect of the Government and the peoples for the community. Praying for your early complete recovery to guide the Musalmans in the right direction in these difficult and baffling

world situation which will influence and control the destiny of our community, this country and the world.

With best regards.

Yours sincerely,

(Kayab , Kt.)

10 Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

6th December 1941

Dear Malik Barkat Ali,

I have received your letter of the 28th November and I do not see how I can interfere in the matter. Of course it is always open to you to appeal to the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, against the decision of the Provincial Working Committee.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely

Malik Barkat Ali Esq
19 Temple Road,
Lahore.

10 Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

6th December 1941.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 29th of November and I am glad to learn that Aligarh Muslim Students' Federation is going to start its own paper, the first issue of which is coming out on 8th of December 1941.

As for the message I would refer you to my Lahore speech at the sessions of the All-India Muslim League:

> "I have placed before you the task that lies ahead of us. Do you realise how big and stupendous it is? Do you realise that you cannot get freedom or independence by mere arguments? I should appeal to the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia in all countries in the world have been the pioneers of all movements for freedom. What does the Muslim intelligentsia propose to do? I may tell you that unless you get this into your blood, unless you are prepared to take off your coats and are willing to sacrifice all that you can and work selflessly, earnestly and sincerely for your people you will never realise your aim."

I wish you all success in your venture and hope that your paper will be a medium for the uplift of the Musalmans generally and of the intelligentsia in particular.

Yours faithfully

S.A.M.Hadi Naqshbandi Esq
General Secretary,
Aligarh Muslim Students' Federation
Aligarh.

Karachi Mail
Multan
12th, December 1941.

My dearest Uncle,

When I reached the station I realised how much before time I had left you. The time of departure was was not 8.50 pm. but 9.50. Over and above this the train was delayed for some reason for another 40 minutes. I did not let the car leave as I was not sure if proper accomodation was available, and he left the station only when another full boggy was attached for us and some others placed in the same position. So I hope you will not have needed the car while it was waiting at the station.

I forgot to tell you something rather important. Now that the political prisoners have been released why should Mashriqui be detained any longer ? After all he had even gone to the length of offering his Khaksars' services for the prosecution of war, and from the scanty news that find their way out of Vellore jail it is also believed that he (Mashriqui) is ready to ~~xxxxxxx~~ come to terms with the Govt. Ahmad Shah is in Delhi and if he could come to see you, some more light could be thrown on this subject. I am only anxious because if the credit of any settlement could go to the League the individual Khaksar would have greater faith in us, than in his own organization. Some Khaksars came to see me at the station in Lucknow and asked me to remind you about their plight.

With best compliments from Jamalmian and self. Your loving,

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN, M.L.A.
EX. MAYOR OF MADRAS

MOUNT ROAD
MADRAS

Decr.23,1941.

My dear Leader :

Allow me to offer you my heartiest felicitations on the happy occasion of your birth-day. It is our earnest wish and prayer that our Quad-e-Azam should live long with perfect health and happiness. Muslim India is not only proud of you but indeed fortunate that they have a Leader who is leading them towards their political salvation in this country.

A defection here and a defection there merely on selfish grounds proves, if ever any proof were necessary, that the whole of Muslim India is behind you and with you.

Once again, May Allah in His bounty bless you with long life and health and happiness!

I am,
Yours affectionately,
Abdul Hameed Khan

M.A. Jinnah, Esqr Bar-at-Law,
President, Muslim League,
Camp. Nagpur.

GREEN FIELDS,
CHURCHGATE RECLAMATION,
BOMBAY.

25-12-41.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Enclosed the full text of your statement and the report appearing in the "Times of India" this morning

Yours sincerely
F. R. Moraes.

"MUSLIM OFFER REJECTED"

Mr. Jinnah's Criticism

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement to the *News Chronicle* of London, says:

"I want the British public and statesmen to understand that the stand of the Muslim League is vitally different from that of the Congress and other Hindu organisations. It is somewhat difficult to understand the Congress, as even in the recent pronouncements of front-line leaders such as Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Nehru and others, they will have nothing to do with the prosecution of the war unless an immediate declaration of India's independence is made by the British Government, and as free Indians they will determine their war policy.

"When they talk of the freedom of India and the independence of India, they entirely ignore the hundred million Muslims in this country. That is the first and foremost mistake, and it is most misleading to say that the Congress represents the Indian nation. There is no such thing as an Indian nation in existence. India is a constellation of nations and the two major nations are the Hindus and Muslims.

"I see that another 'blitz' of agitation is again being set on foot by Hindu leaders because of the growing stress of the expansion of the war to coerce the British Government to make a fresh move and go back on the declaration of August 8, which clearly laid down that not only that the method and machinery to be set up to consider the future constitution of India should be by agreement of the major elements, but that the constitution itself, if it has to be worked successfully, must be framed by agreement of the major parties concerned, as no future constitution can be forced against the will of 100,000,000 Muslims, for it will not survive the withdrawal of the British authority.

"STAMPEDING GOVERNMENT"

"I see a great danger in the British Government being stampeded under pressure of recent developments of the war to make a new declaration according to the designs of the Hindu leaders. They first of all want that a time limit should be fixed after the war at the end of which the British Government must give a solemn undertaking and promise to give India a constitution as a single unit on the basis of a united and democratic India of the Westminster variety.

"This will be cancelling the August declaration and going back on it. Secondly, it clearly means that the constitution will be formed by the British Government, instead of by the major political parties, as laid down in the August declaration. What will be the sanction behind it, as it must be assumed that British power must be substantially or wholly withdrawn when one hundred million Muslims are opposed to it? And, lastly, the clear meaning of this demand by various schools of thought among the Hindus although the Congress is opposed to it would mean, in other words, clearly denouncing and condemning the Muslim demand for the partition of India. This will not only be most unfair to the Muslims, but prejudging the consideration of the issue of the future constitution of India. And it will further clearly reduce the whole of Muslim India as an all-India minority under the heel of a Hindu 'Raj'.

"Such a position Muslim India will never accept, and I want the British Government not to force Muslim India to fill Indian jails to convince them or to demonstrate that Pakistan is now our sacred creed, an article of faith, and any declaration by the British Government or Prime Minister which will in any way militate against it, Muslim India will resist with all the power it can command.

"The next point which I wish to make clear again is that the difference between the Muslim League and the Congress is very vital as regards their respective attitude towards this war. From the very beginning the Muslim League has offered its hand of fullest co-operation to the British Government, provided a real share and voice in the authority and responsibility of the Government at the Centre and in the provinces was given within the framework of the present constitution, without prejudice to the major issues involved with regard to the future constitution of India, whereas the Congress has definitely and repeatedly declined to look at any proposal within the framework of the present constitution and prevailing law. They insist upon the major issues being settled immediately, ignoring the Muslims, and that too in a manner detrimental to the vital interests of the Muslims.

"CO-OPERATION REJECTED"

"I have come to the conclusion that the British Government do not care or value sufficiently the co-operation and assistance of the Muslims except as camp followers, and that they are waiting until they can persuade the Congress to come in or else they have no desire to part with any power in favour of those who fully realise the common peril of this war both to Great Britain and India and are thus willing provisionally to accept the position described by me above as a war contract.

"We have clearly indicated to the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government as far back as June, 1940, and offered our co-operation on that basis and advised them to go ahead with the Muslim League and such other parties as were willing to undertake the responsibility of the defence of our country and to intensify the war efforts in face of the imminent and common danger. But I am afraid no serious heed has been paid to it so far. It is for the British Government to decide how long they propose to wait until the Congress makes up its mind."

Nagpur,
26th December 1941

Dear Sir,

The case now pending against Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, M.L.A. (Central), was placed before the Working Committee, this evening. In the course of the discussion it transpired, that Mr. Noman informed Mr. Rauf Shah that the contents of the draft letter dictated by you and to be signed by Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, now in jail, was approved of by me and that I did not see any objection to Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan signing it, and further, I asked also whether the Government will be satisfied with it. That is entirely incorrect. A copy of the statement filed in Court by Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan has already been furnished to you, and the evidence referred to therein; and if the Government is satisfied, as I understand you seem to have expressed that view, the prosecution against him should be dropped specially at this juncture.

Please let me have a reply by tomorrow afternoon, as my stay in Nagpur is going to be very short, and I should like to see the matter settled finally before I leave.

Yours truly,

T.C.S.Jayaratnam Esq.
Chief Secretary,
C.P.Government,
Nagpur.

THE TIMES OF INDIA,
BOMBAY.

27-12-41.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Enclosed a telegram from the "News Chronicle" acknowledging receipt of the interview.

Yours sincerely,

F. R. Moraes.

The Indian Radio and Cable Communications Co. Ltd.

209

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N.B.— All enquiries regarding this Telegram should be made to the Government Telegraph Deptt., accompanied by this Form.

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2 DEC. 41 FGN. C.T.O.

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THE TIMES OF INDIA,
BOMBAY.
29-12-46.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The enclosed cutting from the London correspondent of the "Bombay Chronicle" may interest you. It refers to your "News Chronicle" statement.

Yours sincerely

F. R. Moraes.

Amir Ali Pats Jinnah's Back

(From Our Correspondent.)
LONDON, Dec. 28.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah's viewpoint in his exclusive interview to the "News Chronicle" which in fact warned the British Government against making a fresh declaration as suggested by Sir George Schuster and Mr. Edward Thompson and later supported by the "Times", has found support in a letter by Mr. Wazir Amir Ali published in the "Times" to-day.

He says: "As for suggestion for enlarged cabinets in the provinces these administrations have been topheavy since the Montagu Reforms and it is doubtful if a yeoman or peasant even knows the names of Ministers, unless they are of his own caste.

"In the United Provinces the resignation of the Congress Government in 1939, after greatly increasing the provincial deficit, was greeted with relief by most people.

"The declaration advocated by Sir Stanley Reed may this time be most unsettling to the Indians in the service whether they are Princes or peasants. It would be interpreted as handing over their destiny to the minority,—their more nimble-witted and non-martial fellow countrymen, in the main urban literates—mostly Caste Hindus".

Mr. Wazir Amir Ali is a retired I.C.S. He is at present in the War Liaison Office in the India House.

MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

11th January 1942

Dear Mr. Moraes,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 9th inst. and beg to inform you that I shall be very glad to see Mr. Low either on Wednesday or Thursday next at 11 o'clock.

Many thanks for sending me the newspaper cutting and releasing my interview for the "News Chronicle" to the press in India.

Yours sincerely

Sd: M.A. JINNAH

F.R.Moraes Esq
The Times of India
Bombay.

M. FARID AHMAD CHOWDHURY
PRESIDENT
DIST. MOSLEM LEAGUE

ANDERKILLA
Chittagong 11th January 1942

Dear Sir,

I beg leave to pen a few lines to you. On January 9, Sir Nazim, K.B. Momen, K.B. Moazzamuddin, Maulvi Tamijuddin, Mr. Suhrawardy and Mr.Wasek paid a visit to Chittagong. We were too glad to have them. They addressed a mass meeting in the Moslem Hall premises. Notwithstanding, Chittagong is panic-stricken, people have been away home, the gathering was quite large. On the close of the deliberations of the day, the honorable guests attended our League Office accompanied by the members of the League Executive Committee and entered inter alia upon a discussion on the line of work appropriate to the time and circumstances, imparting instructions as to how best it should be carried into operation. Then after dinner, we bade them our adieu.

But our joy on the occasion was not unmixed. In course of the proceedings of the meeting, at the sad intelligence of Mr. Fazlul Quader's arrest, while enroute to Chittagong as one of the League Delegation, the assembly put on an appearance, one of dejection and melancholy. This is was the SHYMA-HUQ Ministery thus introduced themselves in their debut. However, the step would only serve to wake us wide. It would be a means to our end. It would be invigorating in effect. Let come what may, we are ever ready to face.

Had this tour been four months ahead, the situation in our favor would have been a great deal different. To render the designs of the satanic minds around us, fruitless, if I am not wrong, I would hold, in view of educating the opinions of our ignorant people, in the light of the tenets our mission, political, social, economic, that the present system of touring-programme may be kept continuous. Yet our people live much back the time. They require much of light and purification.

And by this opportunity I am glad to forward, for your kind perusal, a copy of the address presented to the Delegation, aforesaid, by the District Moslem League together with a copy of the resolutions, discussed and adopted in the meeting.

Please give us your blessing, so that we may come well out of the struggle.

My respectful compliments to you.

Yours sincerely,

M.A. Jinnah Esq
Malabar Hill

THE CONCILIATION GROUP

President : The Most Reverend Foss Westcott, D.D.,
Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India.

Clerk to the Group :
Sudhir Ghosh,
16, Elgin Road,
Calcutta.

16th January 1942.

M. A. Jinnah, Esq.
President, All-India Moslem League,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Metropolitan desires me to write to you and to convey to you his greetings. He is deeply concerned about the political situation in India and is anxious to do all in his power to end the present deadlock. For sometime past he has been wondering if he could make himself useful in promoting better understanding between our two great organisations - the Moslem League and the Congress. With this end in view, he has asked me to communicate with you, Sir, and with Mr. C. Rajagopalachar of the Congress. If his invitations were acceptable to you and to Mr.Rajagopalachar, he would be most happy to arrange a discussion of the political situation as soon as possible at his house here, in the hope of finding a new road to a national coalition.

The Metropolitan would be very grateful for an answer and, in case you decided to come, he would be delighted if you would do him the honour of staying with him.

I am, Sir,
Yours sincerely,

Sudhir Ghosh

Clerk to the Conciliation Group.

Tele { Grams "MUSLIMLEAG"
Phone No. 5530

No.

CENTRAL OFFICE
ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE
DARYAGANJ.
DELHI.

17th January, 1942.

Dear Sir,

Happily the session of the All India Students Federation, in which you had to speak, and also the meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, held at a right time. The combined blitz of the Hindu organizations, as it is evident from Mr. Amery's recent statement in the House of Commons, has been warded off successfully.

The great speech which you had delivered at Nagpur has been published in The Dawn, and its literal translation in Manshoor, which will be reproduced in the Urdu press, as usual, and the whole Muslim India would be inspired by it.

During the last two months and a half I have spent most of my spare time in straightening the management of The Dawn, and the work has been brought in control. The circulation of The Dawn is increasing with much greater speed than I expected. It is now 2,800. This number of circulation, within thirteen weeks and for a weekly, is very encouraging. But The Dawn has yet to make much improvement to deserve this public responce.

As for the Central office, only the correspondence side has been regulated greatly owing to the addition of Mr. Syed Abdur Rahman, but the initiative which is the main thing is still lacking.

With kind regards,
Yours sincerely,

Hasan Reyaz

M.A. Jinnah Esq.,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

18th January 1942

Dear Sir,

Mr. M.A.Jinnah has received your letter of the 16th of January 1942 and wishes to convey to the Metropolitan that while he appreciates the desire and good intention on the part of the Metropolitan, he regrets that he is unable to accept the invitation to go to Calcutta.

As regards the question of Mr. Jinnah's discussing the matter with Mr. Rajagopalachari he will be only too glad to see him and have a talk with him in connection with the political situation if he so desires.

Yours faithfully,

Sudhir Ghosh Esq
Clerk to the Conciliation Group,
16, Elgin Road, Calcutta.

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.
19th January 1942

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 11th inst. and thank you for sending me copies of the resolutions passed by the Chittagong Muslim League on the 9th of January.

Yes, I have read in the papers about the arrest of Mr. Fazlul Quader and I am waiting for further particulars. I am quite sure that you would succeed. Go on with your work of organising the Musalmans as a disciplined nation.

Thanking you for all the information that you have given me.

Yours faithfully

Farid Ahmad Chowdhury Esq
President
Distt. Muslim League,
Anderkilla,
Chittagong.

MGIFPAL

Ordinary

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

C.

NOTICE. This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.	Charges to pay. Rs.	As.	Office Stamp.
Ry 60			MALABAR HILL TEL. 19 JAN. 42 BOMBAY

Handed in at (Office of Origin)	Date.	Hour.	Minute.	Service Instructions.	Words.
Calcutta	19	1	55		30

TO Ap As two mr — Recd. here at 13/24 M.

jinnah president moslem league malabar hill Ry 4

metropolitans message of 16th rajagopalachariar indicates willingness kindly telegraph your views — Ghosh Conciliation group 16 elgin [illegible]

N.B.—The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, is written after the text.

GHOSH
CONCILIATION GROUP
16 ELGIN ROAD
CALCUTTA

YOUR TELEGRAM REPLY TO YOUR LETTER 16TH ALREADY POSTED

JINNAH

M.A.Jinnah Esq
Mount Pleasant Road.
20th January, 1942

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.
20th January 1942

Dear Mr. Hasan Reyaz,

Thank you for your letter of the 17th January. I am very glad that "The Dawn" is showing good results and that its circulation is gone up. I agree with you that it has to make much more improvement to deserve the public response and still greater support.

I am glad that we are making progress alround slowly but surely.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely

Syed Hasan Reyaz Esq

Tele { Grams "MUSLIMLEAG"
{ Phone No. 5530

No.

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

CENTRAL OFFICE
ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE
DARYAGANJ.
DELHI.

22nd Janaury, 1942.

Dear Sir,

The other day when I was reading the proceedings of the A.I.C.C., it struck me that if at this juncture we could stage a demonstration of our repugnance to the national Government and all that the Congress demand and the suggestions of the Sapru Party make for, on a grand scale just as we did by observing the Deliverence Day after the exit of the Congress Governments, it might prove effective to silence the supporters of the Congress in the British Parliament and also the Pro-Congress section of the British Press.

I was yet thinking to submit the proposal for your consideration that Mr. Churchill's statement, which he made in the House of Commons on 20th Janaury,1942, appeared in the press. What that answer would be that he intends to give in a form, which could be made public, no one can forsee; but it is ominous that the suggestions of Sir Tej Bhadur Sapru and others should be taken seriously by the Premier. It made me more keen to write you,what I am thinking and feeling.

Hoping you are well. With best wishes.

Sincerely yours

Hasan Riyaz

M.A. Jinnah Esq.,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

THE CONCILIATION GROUP

President: The Most Reverend Foss Westcott, D.D.,
Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India.

Committee:
Olga Lawrence
Rosemary Hunt
Amiya Chakravarty
T. G. Narayanan
Edward Hunt
Ronald Wynn

Clerk to the Group:
Sudhir Ghosh,
16, Elgin Road,
Calcutta.

22nd January 1942.

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 18th. The Metropolitan thanks Mr. Jinnah for his reply.

Mr. C. Rajagopalchariar is likely to come to Calcutta about the 12th February to see the Metropolitan. We are going to ask a small number of leaders, including Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir K. Nazimuddin, to a private and informal discussion of the political situation at that time. We understand Mr. Jinnah is coming to Bengal to preside over the Provincial Conference of the League and will pass through Calcutta about that date. The Metropolitan would appreciate Mr. Jinnah's generosity if he would honour us with his presence at this meeting at Bishop's House.

We can fix the time and the date to suit Mr.Jinnah's convenience.

Yours sincerely,
Sudhir Ghosh

M. H. Saiyid, Esq.,
Secretary to Mr.M.A.Jinnah,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.
26th January 1942

Dear Sir,

I have placed your letter dated the 22nd of January before Mr. Jinnah and beg to inform you that, from your first letter dated the 16th of January Mr. Jinnah understood, that it was the personal desire of the Metropolitan to bring about a meeting between Mr.Rajagopalachari and Mr. Jinnah. In reply Mr. Jinnah asked me to convey to the Metropolitan that he would be glad to see Mr.Rajagopalachari at Bombay, if he so desired. He has, however, now, after having seen your letter under reply, asked me to convey to the Metropolitan that during his visit to Bengal he will be glad to receive Mr.Rajagopalachari, if he also happens to be in Calcutta, and for that purpose there is, obviously no need of any kind of conciliation. Further, Mr. Jinnah is unable to understand what this Conciliation Group is, nor is he aware of how and by whom it was formed, and what its composition, aims and objects are.

With regard to the suggestion that the Metropolitan is going to ask a small number of leaders "to a private and informal discussion of the political situation", Mr. Jinnah regrets that he cannot consider it unless he is in possession of the full details with regard to the Conciliation Group and the leaders that are going to be invited and the purpose of that meeting. As at present advised Mr. Jinnah finds the suggestion to be vague and indefinite.

Yours faithfully,

Sudhir Ghosh Esq
Clerk to the Conciliation Group
16 Elgin Road,
Calcutta.

M. FARID AHMAD CHOWDHURY

ANDERKILLA
Chittagong 27th Jan 1942

Dear Sir,

I have thankfully received your instructive letter of Jan 19. I assure you I shall make every endeavour to rise up to your expectation. With your blessing we are marching on undaunted. May God help us to work up to your ideal and reach the goal.

On the morning of January 23 Mr. S.K. Basu, a time serving political partner of Mr. Huq, arrived at the Chittagong Station on an official visit in connection with A.R.P. business, as known from the well-informed circle. Muslims' non-participation wrought the dullest feature of his reception so carefully and enthusiastically organised by both the District Magistrate and Mr. Azim, a satellite of Mr. Huq. To make the function a success, unlike his predecessors, the present Magte. took every precaution by way of issuing demi-official letters to many leading men of the district to be present at the station platform to receive the Minister. Also he did not spare any pains to personally call on men of distinction to persuade their presence in the reception But all his attempts were to no perpose.

Then the Magistrate distributed hand-bills under his own signature notifying a mass meeting on A.R.P. and CIVIL DEFENCE to be addressed by the Minister on January 24 at J.M.Sen's Hall, and that the meeting was purely a non-political one. Amongst the audience, as report goes, the Govt. Officials formed the majority. Mr. Tripura Charan Chowdhury, President of the local Congress Committee, was voted to the chair. But it was funny that the speaker, instead of speaking on the subject as announced, began articulating his sound on a pathetic appeal

calculated to canvass public opinion in favor of the socalled Huq Ministry And at length, to the utter surprise of all present and contrary to all rules and conventions of meetings, the president allowed a resolution to be proposed supporting the ministry. At this many of the audience left the meeting as a mark of protest.

Now Feni incident is much engaging the attention of the Muslims. Some of the Feni College students are at Chittagong now.

Comprising the whole situation I am releasing an article to the press. According to programme we are going on with our work.

God willing, at Serajgunge we shall pay our repects to you.

With best regards,

yours sincerely,

[signature]

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

No. 533

Received here at ______ H. ______ M.

28/55

D VL CALCUTTA 30 17

MR JINNAH MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD BOMBAY =

GRATEFUL FOR LETTER MANY THANKS

METROPOLITAN WRITING TO YOU = GHOSH =

The sequence of entries at the beginning of this telegram is—class of telegram, time handed in, serial number (in the case of foreign telegrams only), office of origin, date, service instructions (if any) and number of words.

This form must accompany any inquiry respecting this Telegram.

MGIPPAb.—

THE CONCILIATION GROUP

President : The Most Reverend Foss Westcott, D.D.,
Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India.

Committee :
Olga Lawrence
Rosemary Hunt
Amiya Chakravarty
T. G. Narayanan
Edward Hunt
Ronald Wynn

Clerk to the Group :
Sudhir Ghosh,
16, Elgin Road,
Calcutta.

1st February, 1942.

Dear Sir,

Very many thanks for your letter of the 26th January. The Metropolitan's only desire is to bring about a meeting between Mr.Jinnah and Mr.Rajagopalachariar. He will be very happy and grateful if this happens at his own house. He is writing to Mr.Jinnah personally about it. He has already invited Mr.Rajagopalachariar. The only other guest likely to be present is Mr.Arthur Moore. Nobody else will be there, as we have given up our idea of inviting some other leaders. There is no question of conciliation. The Metropolitan merely wishes to invite Mr.Jinnah and Mr.Rajagopalachariar to a meal at his house.

I am expecting a telegram from Mr.Rajagopalachariar any time. He will let me know definitely if he will be able to come. On receipt of this message, I will send you a telegram and would be grateful, if you would let me or the Metropolitan know the date and the time convenient for Mr.Jinnah.

As to the Conciliation Group, it is a non-political body of about a hundred Indians and Europeans who are concerned about the political situation and are working in a quiet way for better understanding between Britain and India. This is not an organisation of any great importance. None of its members will be present when Mr.Jinnah and Mr.Rajagopalachariar visit the Metropolitan's house but they would be grateful and thankful if this meeting materialises.

Yours sincerely,
Sudhir Ghosh.

M.H.Saiyid,Esq.,
Secretary to
Mr.M.A.Jinnah,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay.

O OC (14/15) PESHAWAR C 14

MR M A JINNAH NEW DELHI.

A MASS MEETING OF OVER 10000 MUSLIMS OF THE FRONTIER WAS HELD ON 13 TH AT MOHABAT KHAN MOSQUE UNDER THE PRESIDENTSHIP OF SAID SULTAN MOHD SHAH KHADIMIKASHA AND MEMBER OF THE FRONTIER JAMIATULULUMA THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION WAS UNANIMOUSLY PASSED BY THE MEETING.THIS MASS MEETING OF THE FRONTIER MUSLIMS TAKES THIS OPPORTUNITY TO IMPRESS UPON THE BRITISH GOVT THAT THE MUSLIM LEAGUE IS THE ONLY REPRESENTATIVE ORGANIZATION OF THE MUSLIMS WITH MR JINNAH AS ITS HEAD,AND THAT IN THE EVENT OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUES DEMANDS FOR PAKISTAN, BEING NOT ACCEPTED TO,THE FRONTIER MUSLIMS WILL BE PREPARED TO MAKE ANY SACRIFICE FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THEIR GOAL. FURTHER RESOLVED THAT COPY OF THE RESOLUTION BE SENT TO PRESS GOVERNMENT OF IND AAND SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS.

MOHDHASSAN

COPIED 23/35.KL.

Given to the press on 15/3/42.

Lucknow,

20th April 42.

My dear Uncle,

I have recently seen Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan hovering round about the League's camps and making strenuous efforts to prove his unflinching loyalty to the League. His attempts have been accelerated greatly since the death of the Nawab of Mamdot and I smell a rat. In these days of turmoil and upheavels any association can not flourish or prosper with such back-sliding and slippery members.

Allow me to assure you at the outset that personally I have no grudges against anybody but as a faithful follower of yours I consider it my duty to keep you in touch with the drawing room gossips which occassionally prove very useful.

Recently I happened to meet a gentleman from Lahore who gave me the following information:-

The gentleman who has been previously mentioned was in Cambridge about the same time as the informer. He has always been a busy body. In Cambridge he was reputed to be one of the most accomplished liars that ever came to study. He suffers probably from the exhibitionist complex. This has reached such a chronic stage that he would slip away with a "Half Blue's" cap and a "Full Blue's"

coat. Many a time the University authorities have had to chastise him for his misbehaviour. Gaiting was a part of his daily routine. He was threatened once with expulsion from the University for deception. In London while on holidays he would leave his empty trunks with the landlady and run away without paying her. In 1932 or 1931 (I do not remember the exact date he once approached Lord Zetland the then Secretary of State for India to accept a dinner party. When Lord Zetland refused his invitation he approached Sir Abdul Qadir of Lahore and managed to to get Lord Zetland's acceptance. The dinner was arranged at Dorchester and many persons of ranks and position accepted his invitations. With the letter of acceptance from Lord Zetland the Dorchester management never anticipated the consequences that awaited them. His definite orders to the Hotel management were to let wines of the best quality and liquor of the highest grades flow like water. The day came and about two hundred or over (guests) attended. The bill for dinner and drinks amounted to over £700. Nawab

left the Hotel soon after his guests departed and never turned up again to pay his bills. The Dorchester management advertised in the press and, to cut a long story short the last that the Hotel authorities saw of him was when he appeared with an application for insolvency. This case was reported in the Times of

London as well. The most recent example of his dodgery and fraud is the incident of the Lahore Club, when had it not been for intervention of some Indian members he would have been expelled. He had been in the habit of signing Club bills in other members' names. This had been going on for a few months and the Club authorities could not bring the culprit to book. One day he happened to forge the signature of a member who was stationed out of Lahore. The aggrieved member when he received his bill was astonished to find a few hundred rupees on account of Tennis balls and drinks in his name. He kicked up a row and finally the actual forgery was investigated. A notice was given to this gentleman to show cause why he may not be prosecuted for forgery. This notice sent him flying to every members house with folded hands and on bended knees. The Indian members thinking in terms of patriotism did not consider it opportune to take action of expulsion against an Indian as this would go down in the records. The matter was hushed up.

I do not know how a man with such a criminal mentality can ever be of any use whatsoever. There are yet many more instances of similar incidents but I hope that the above illustrations will be enough to show the "poor" beast behind those shooting eyes ~~[illegible]~~.
~~[illegible]~~

and that v. sensually protruding nose.

There are many more instances of his misbehaviour and the other members of his family. He is the elder brother of Khurshid Ali, after all.

21st The D. Committee began its deliberations today. It was all a sad affair. We are yet in the dream land of Peace while other Committees are getting prepared. The trend of talks that took place is not at all helpful—neither hopeful. The leadership in the Districts will be a dead weight. There is no ambition in anybody, everybody seems to think that someone will cook the pie and hand it over to them to eat it. <u>But really</u> we are not to blame. 150 years of clinging to the apron strings of Britain has paralysed our legs. Unfortunately we do not realize what a <u>war can do</u>, and what it will demand from us. What I sometimes feel is that somebody who has been in the thick of such situations must be employed by us. We are tied to the ground so to say. Mobility is extinct. An Afridi, or a frontier tribesman is much better off. He may not have our culture and education but by living under constant danger he has developed a sixth sense which always guides him safely in times of crisis.

Rafi Ispahani was also invited to address the meeting. He spoke on his experiences in Burma for about 85 minutes. He is coming again tomorrow. Tomorrow the committee is meeting the Gov. and in the evening the commissioner, the Chief Sec. and Dy Commissioner are dining with us.

I may have to go to Calcutta on a v. <u>short</u> notice on League work, and there I will meet the same gentleman who met you. The moving Str. Hasn't he got a long beard?! I met him in Allahabad as well. He is all for the League. First he was in the Congress. I believe he can work useful miracles. But no one believes me.

You will pardon me for this rigmarole, and of course me for troubling you with such a disjointed letter. It has been done on purpose.

Love to Phophi.

Yours loving

Amir -

Hasan is in Bombay. They are shifting a part of their office from Calcutta.

Mamdot Villa, Davies Road

Lahore 13. 7. 1942.

Dear Qaid-i-Azam,

There has been a great controversy in the local press about my leadership of the National War Front. I was in Quetta attending the Baluchistan Muslim League conference when a Hindu paper of Lahore reported that I had resigned from the League. I contradicted it as soon as I came back to Lahore. You must have seen my statement in the press. I think it is time that I should explain to you the whole situation and await your order

It was about three weeks before your reply to the General Secretary, Bengal Provincial Muslim League, on the question of the National War Front, that the Deputy Commissioner, Ferozepore, informed me that the Punjab Government wanted to appoint me District Leader of the War Front and asked me whether I was prepared to accept the appointment. I told him that it all depended

on you and that I could not accept or reject the offer without consulting you. He said that the matter was very urgent and that he could not wait for more than two or three days. I told him that you were in Bombay and it would be impossible to get a reply within two days. I suggested that he should drop me and recommend some one else. He said there was no question of his recommendation and agreed to wait for ten days.

I returned to Lahore the same day and met Sir Sikander Hayat Khan in the evening. I explained to him the whole situation and told him to appoint some other person as Leader of the War Front. He agreed with me and asked me to tell the Deputy Commissioner to recommend two men to work as joint leaders and promised that he would also write to him. After that I did not consider it necessary to write to you because I thought that Sir Sikander had definitely dropped me. About four days after that I happened to go to Ferozepore. There I met the Deputy Commissioner and told him all about my talk with the Premier. He was surprised at it and said," I cannot understand what the Premier means by all this. Only this morning I have received an order in which the

Government has appointed you the District Leader." This is how it all happened.

While at Quetta I acquainted Nawab Ismail Khan and Ch. Khaliquzzaman with the facts and they advised me to write to you. They left Quetta on the sixth but I was detained by Qazi Isa. Sir Sikander met them in Lahore and told them something about my case. I am told that they have promised to write to you. I do not know what talk place between them and Sir Sikander or whether they have written to you or not.

I am not quite sure but I think that Sir Sikander is not playing a fair game with me. He did not like my being elected the President of the Provincial Muslim League. You must have heard that he opposed me to the last minute. He has intentionally placed me in this awkward position. He knows that the question of Jagir amounting to rupees one and a half lacs is still pending. He thinks that you will not allow me to join the War Front and that I will have to resign from the League for the sake of my Jagir. But he is wrong there. I leave the matter entirely to you. If you think you can allow me to work in my individual capacity well and good otherwise I assure you once again that I will

abide by your order. You can consult Sir Ṇazim-ud-din and Ch. Khliquzzamạn sahib because they know the situation very well.

Yours sincerely,

Iftikhar Husain Khan.

MEMBER, LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
UNITED PROVINCES

Budaun (U.P.)

July 21st, 1942.

My Dear Qaidi-Azam,

As the subject on which I am addressing this letter to you is an All India question and directly affects the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League I venture to write to you a few lines. Besides the man about whom I wish to say some thing is easily an All India Leaguer rather than any thing else. I had, however, also promptly communicated the necessary information to the Head-quarters of the Provincial League.

I deeply regret to have to bring to your notice that Maulana Abdul Hamid of Budaun, a prominent member of the All India Muslim League who owes so much to your patronage, lately tried to invite endless trouble here. He tried the old game of creating dissentions between Shias and Sunnis by starting Madeh ~~Shaba~~ Sahaba. at Budaun. We all had grave fears that unless the trouble was nipped in the bud the old painful story of Lucknow was sure to be repeated at Budaun.

What happened was that one day suddenly and without consult -ing any body he announced that a public meeting would be held at the Juma Masjid on July the 8th to celebrate the "Siddique Day" i.e., the death anniversary of Hazrat Abu Bakar Siddique- the Ist Caliph. This announcement was a signal for endless

protests and agitation throughout. As President of the local Muslim Defence Comittee I received a written protest from a local Shia leader an Advocate of this place and a staunch Muslim Leaguer. In his letter of protest he pointed out that Hamid Mian who was also a member of the Defence Committee was acting directly against the main printed directions of the Provincial Defence Committee which directions were to create and maintain harmony and peace among the various sections of Mussalmans. Besides by doing so he was also acting against the the general policy and standing orders of the Muslim League. I promptly took up the matter and tried my best to avert trouble. Unlike Lucknow, Budaun is a place where about 90% of families families are inter-related between Shias and Sunnis. So we all thought that on the start of agitation life would become hell in Budaun. Besides it would not remain a local question. During the days of Lucknow trouble Budaun was perhaps the only place which remained almost completely aloof from taking sides in the Lucknow agitation and where relations between Shias and Sunnis remained as cordial as ever. We all, therefore, did our level best to persuade Hamid Mian to give up his idea of this innovation. But we regret we failed. Under the circumstances the best plan that I thought to guard against future trouble was that I requested the Shia gentlemen to leave the matter to us the Sunnis to deal with and to wait for results. I am very grateful to them that they listened to me. When I found that Shia gentlemen were after my advice really showing all restraint and calm in

the matter I promptly invited the Sunni public opinion in order to bring pressure on Hamid Mian. I was fortunately very successful in making the Shias quiet since the Sunnis themselves led the opposition to the innovation of Hamid Mian. Inspite of the over-whelming majority of Sunni public opinion against the move of Hamid Mian he did not listen to anybody. I enclose herewith a printed poster over the signatures of about one hundred and fifty people of all classes and interests which will give you an idea as to the representative capacity of those people- Vakils, Barristers, Doctors, Municipal Commissioners, Members of the District Board, Presidents and Secretaries of the various Ward Leagues etc.

When Hamid Mian did not listen to us the only alternative for us was to use force in order to stop the meeting.. But we did not like the idea as that would have brought trouble and breach of peace rather much too soon. Besides our object was served, since we had completely satisfied the Shia gentlemen that the Sunni Muslims as a whole were opposed to the idea and disowned all responsibility for the future consequences of the individual and irresponsible act of one of us. Their consistent behaviour uptill now is a proof of this fact. Besides the advice given to them from their higher quarters and published in the Shia organ "Sarfaraz" namely to show restraint and calm in view of the conduct of the Sunni Mussalmans is is also a definite proof of the success of our plan. The Shias have now no reasonable ground for even thinking of taking any step in retaliation. Hamid Mian, therefore, did hold a meeting

at the threat of dropping his last blood which none of us wanted him to do. But very few people went there and it did not last for more than half an hour. We took a sigh of relief and we thought the matter ended there and Hamid Mian after his personal triumph would sit quiet at home. But to our great regret and surprise he pursued a very unwise policy after holding his meeting, namely the policy of retaliation against all those who were opposed to his meeting. He kept on the agitation by stirring up the religious feeling in order to attract Sunni public x opinion. Shias had forgotten all about it; but he is reminding them con-sistently. His misbehaviour reached a climax when on Friday the 10th July he openly abused me and all others opposed to his meeting. This he did at the Juma Masjid. His abuses were so filthy that even a worst Goonda of this place would not think of indulging in such abuses. His object was to stir up religious feeling by characterising those not wearing beard as Fasiq and Fajir. Can any sensible person approve of this disgraceful conduct on his part? His subsequent mis-behaviour is having its repercussions and reviving xxitx excitement among the Shias. A Shia gentleman had therefore his protest published in the "Hamdam" dated the 19th July 1942 which protest was against the meeting of "Siddique Day" held by Hamid Mian. This was all due to Hamid Mian's subsequent activities. For God's sake come to our rescue and save us from a great catastrophe. Hamid Mian may be very useful, but this does not mean that he should

be allowed to go unchecked. To me, therefore, there is hardly any difference between the initial move of Hamid Mian and that of Maulana Abdul Shakoor of Lucknow. Any body who is at all acquainted with the history of the Lucknow trouble should know that in the beginning the ambitions of Maulana Abdul Shakoor were not by any means very g high. Similarly Hamid Mian professed to be very modest in the beginning. The The initial method also of either of them looked very simple and innocuous. It is a pity that Hamid Mian has all along publicly condemned all that Maulana Abdul Shakoor did, should have thought fit at last to step into his shoes. I had sent four express letters to the Head-quarters of the Provincial League. I do not know as yet what they had done to check Hamid Mian. On the contrary I received I a reply from Nawab Ismail Khan Sahib, and he did not for some reason seem to attach much importance to the matter. He was by then not fully acquainted with the facts. M If Hamid Mian is allowed to continue to do his religious propaganda I am afraid all our efforts made so far would be brought to naught and a fierce agitation would be revived among the Shias. The result would be an open fight between the Shias on one side and the Sunnis on the other. I know, as I do, Hamid Mian can never afford to give up the League unless there is something mysterious as some people imagine. In any case in a matter like this personal regard and personality should be given no preferance over public good. Some sort of action is indispensable to keep him correct for future. I

have no personal dispute with him and as every body knows we were best of friends.

I apologise for writing so much to you.

Yours sincérely,

M. I. Hasan

To,

Qaidi-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah,

President- All India Muslim League,

Malabar Hill,

Bombay.

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.
28th July 1942

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 21st of July and I regret very much indeed the account sent to me by you with regard to the activities of Molvi Abdul Hamid of Badaun. But if it is true, the only course open to you is to hand over the matter to your Provincial Muslim League in the first instance and move the machinery which is available to you according to the constitution and rules of your Provincial Muslim League.

Yours faithfully

M.I.Hasan Esq
Bar-at-Law
Badaun (U.P.)

Tele { Grams "MUSLIMLEAG"
{ Phone No. 5530

No.

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

CENTRAL OFFICE
ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE
DARYAGANJ.
DELHI.

Dated the 8th August 1942.

Dear Sir,

It is very g aifying to me that the Dawn is being shortly made daily. Asfar as I know Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan has completed all te arrangements. I suggested to him, when he called me to disuss the scheme and disclosed upon me that the paper was going to be published all the seven days – Sunday Edition on Sundas – that the Dawn must publish on Sundays as a weekly instad of the Sunday edition and six days as a daily like the Time of India, The Hindu, and the Bombay Chronical. My reasons n support of the suggestion are as follows:-

(1) Our present circulation is about 4,500, out of which 2,000 are permanent subscribers, the rest are through Agencies. As the Sunday edition of a daily cannot be subscribed separately it would be difficult to make an adjustment with the permanent subscribers if 'The Dawn' stops its publication as a weekly.

(2) The catering area of a daily paper is limited within 6 hours run of railway trains, while a weekly views-paper can cover all the distances, and is never stale until its successive issue comes out. For instance most of the subscribers of the Dawn are in Madras, Bengal, Bombay and other distant parts of the country and also in South Africa. The Daily Dawn will be useless in those parts being much behind the time on reaching there. The Weekly Dawn along with the Daily is a necessity for the education of Muslim public opinion in the distant Indian provinces and propaganda in foreign countries.

(3) The weekly Dawn is quite self supporting, while the daily will be a new venture. Nobody can be sure about its future. If the two papers are amalgamated and the scheme went wrong it will be a great national loss. Therefore I am definitely of opinion that the two papers must be separate and independent. I may concede that they can sefely run under one Editor and the same management. I hope you would consider the scheme in the light of the above suggestion.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

Hasan Reyaz

No. BZ 31 21304

Dated 10th. August 1942

In favour of

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.

For the Purchase of News. Print on Trust for me.

Rs. 10,000/- for Dawn.

No. BZ 31 21306

Dated 10th November 1942

In favour of

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

"Ten thousand" for "Dawn" as Trust.

Rs. 10,000

No. BZ 31 21305

Dated 8th. October 1942

In favour of

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan advance to Dawn, further advance in trust for me

Rs. 6000/-.

No. BZ 31 21317

Dated 31 MAR. 1943 19

In favour of

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

For the purchase of newsprint in "Dawn" a/c in trust for Mr. Jinnah

Rs. 10,000/-

No. BZ 31 21326

Dated -4 MAY 1943 19

In favour of

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan

For "Dawn" in trust for Mr. Jinnah

Rs. 10,000/—

No. BZ 31 21330

Dated 20th May 1943

In favour of

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan

For "Dawn" to be held in Trust for Mr. Jinnah

Rs. 17,000/-

No. BZ 31 21329

Dated 14th May 1943

In favour of

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan. for Dawn in trust for Mr. Jinnah

Rs. 12000/.

No. BZ 31 21344

Dated 6th July 1944

In favour of

Deposit in terms of order for machinery for Dawn. ordered through Linotype & Machinery Ltd Calcutta

Rs. 22500/

MOHAMMED AFZAL HUSAIN QADRI,
M. Sc., Ph. D. (Alig.), Ph. D. (Cantab.).

9, Zakaullah Road,
Muslim University,
Aligarh.
10-8-42.

My revered Qaidai-Azam,

Assalamo-Alaikum. I am grieved to find that Dr. Latif has betrayed the Mussalmans at this critical juncture. His recent statement amounts to calculated treachery & betrayal. I know him personally and always suspected him as hand in glove with some Congress leaders. The Congress has been using him to torpedo the Pakistan idea. All such efforts are bound to fail and Pakistan will surely be achieved with the Grace of Allah. All of us are eagerly aspiring to throw in ourselves, all out, in the struggle for Pakistan. It will be an immortal privilege for us to bury ourselves in the foundations of the great edifice of Pakistan.

The Congress has flately refused to come to terms with the Muslims. There is no prospect of it either. ~~The Muslim India~~ should now chalk out its own line of action and start a nation wide struggle for Pakistan.

I trust you will approve my statement on Dr. Latif enclosed herewith.

With best wishes and respectful regards

I have the honour to be,
Your devoted servant,
Mohd Afzal Husain Qadri

Qaidai-Azam M.A. Jinnah Esqr,
President All India Muslim League,
Melabar Hill, Bombay.

Ah.—188—1-7-41—1,96,700 Bks.

2126

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

BOMBAY D.T.O. AUG 47

NOTICE.

This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.

Charges to pay.	
Rs.	As.

Handed in at (Office of Origin).	Date	Hour.	Minute	Service Instructions.	Words.
Hyderabad BG	[illegible]	18	30		146

Rec'd. here at 23 [illegible] M.

Mr Jinnah Bombay

Your condemnation of Mahatmaji quite unjustified He is opposed to Pakistan dominion as agreed between you and Rajaji not to free pakistan as envisaged in

N.B.—The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, is written after the text.

[redacted]

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT. No.

Received here at ______ H. ______ M.

BOMBAY 15 AUG 47 D.T.O.

To/

My scheme of a union
of federal republics of India
which I wanted to put
before allahabad [illegible] session and
formally submitted to viceroy through
Mr Hancox Collector Cawnpore [illegible]
even latest Congress Committee [illegible]
approves federal constitution with large
measure of autonomy and [illegible]
powers for federation [illegible]
please mark use of [illegible]

The sequence of entries at the beginning of this telegram is—class of telegram, time handed in, serial number (in the case of foreign telegrams only), office of origin, date, service instructions (if any), and number of words.

This form must accompany any enquiry respecting this telegram.

MGIPPAh.—1972—17-3-42—72,400 Bks.

[redacted]

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT. *No.*

15 AUG 42 D.T.O.

Received here at ______ H. ______ M.

3

units

Instead of provinces probably [illegible] five federal or zonal units including two pakistan republics of eastern and western [illegible] Please place my views before leagues working Committee [illegible] Hope league will [illegible] attitude regarding [illegible] independence [illegible] methods of achievement [illegible] for

The sequence of entries at the beginning of this telegram is—class of telegram, time handed in, serial number (in the case of foreign telegrams only), office of origin, date, service instructions (if any), and number of words.

This form must accompany any enquiry respecting this telegram.

MGIPPAh.—1972—17-3-42—72,400 Bks.

[redacted] [redacted]

POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

Received here at ______ H. ______ M.

No.

BOMBAY 15 AUG 42 B.T.O.

to which we may adopt policy of Benevolent neutrality

Hasrat Mohani

The sequence of entries at the beginning of this telegram is—class of telegram, time handed in, serial number (in the case of foreign telegrams only), office of origin, date, service instructions (if any), and number of words.

This form must accompany any enquiry respecting this telegram.

MGIPPAh.—1972—17-3-42—72,400 Bks.

MGIPPAI

44

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

C.

NOTICE. This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.	Charges to pay. Rs.	As.	Office stamp.
11			BOMBAY MALABAR HILL 19 AUG. 42

Handed in at (Office of Origin).	Date.	Hour.	Minute.	Service Instructions.	Words.
Delhi C	18	18	15		

TO Qaideazam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Bombay H — Recd. here at H. M.

" With responsibility of most widely circulated urdu Daily we respectfully request consistent with our National aspirations fullest consideration be given to Rajajis suggestion and

N.B.—The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, is written after the text.

MGIFPAL.

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT. 44

C.

NOTICE. This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.	Charges to pay. Rs.	As.	Office Stamp. MALABAR HILL 19 AUG. 42 BOMBAY

Handed in at (Office of Origin).	Date.	Hour.	Minute.	Service Instructions.	Words.
II Ahd					

TO

Recd. here at 1815 M.

Some way found Saving hindu neighbours from Suicide and India Internal external Dangers

= Anjam

N.B.—The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, is written after the text.

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.
23rd August 1942

Dear Mr. Qadri,

Many thanks for your letter of the 10th of August and I have carefully read all that you have written and now the Working Committee has passed the resolution which you must have read by now and I hope that we have expressed the true feelings and the sentiments and opinion of Muslim India.

Yours sincerely

Mohammad Afzal Husain Qadri Esq
9, Zakaullah Road,
Muslim University
Aligarh.

MOHAMMED AFZAL HUSAIN QADRI,
M. Sc., Ph. D. (Alig), Ph. D. (Cantab).

DEPARTMENT OF ZOOLOGY,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH.

20-9-42.

My dear Qaid-i-Azam,

As-salam-o-Alaikum. I am writing this letter to convey to you what some of us are thinking about the present situation. We feel that the Muslim India is at present passing through a state of frustration. It is mainly in consequence of the attitude taken up by the Hindus and the British Govt: But we must do something- in our own way and for our own benifit. We are living under the shadow of a storm which may break out any moment and may vitally affect our destiny for years to come. We need to achieve two things immediately. First we must secure the right of establishing our independent states in Free India and secondly we must organise our defence in a manner so as to meet any aggression on us. For the first none better than you, can device means and ways to achieve it. We only suggest that a nation wide demonstration must be arranged in order to show our keeness for an immediate declaration of Pakistan. We must also make it plain to the British Govt: that the Muslim Home-lands, more than the rest of India are in immediate danger of foreign aggression. It is therefore vitally necessary that the Governments of Bengal and N.W.F. Province must be truly representative of the Musalmans and that the Muslims in their homelands must be fully armed to defend them ~~for~~ ~~our~~ from foreign aggression.

The problem of defence is of still greater importance. It is indeed hearting that you realized it more acutely than others and set up an organisation for it. I have also been serving in that organisation ~~force~~ for four months. But I feel I must inform you that the organisation is not yet set to work adequately and needs a central supervision and guidance. I feel it necessary that a <u>central department of defence</u> should start working under you in order to supervise

P.T.O.

and speed up the work. You must receive weekly reports of the provinces and must see that people in that organisation are working satisfactorily. It is regretable that Muslims did not contribute adequately for their National fund. But we have to work as much as possible.

I suggest that the last week of Ramzan including the Id day must be declared as National week and the Muslim in that week must demonstrate for Pakistan and work for their defence.

I think you will be pleased to know that apart from my academic work I am solely devoting myself to the Defence of this University which is our important national asset. I wish I could do more. In this connection I may inform you that one of my dearest friends and comrades Mr. Amir-uddin Kidwai vakil Bara-Banki is willing to place his services at your disposal for several months. He has unparallelled capacities and talents for organising and will prove worthy of every trust and confidence. He will bear his own expences. We have spoken to Mr. Ghulam Bhik Nairang M.L.A. about this matter & you can refer this thing to him.

I hope I have adequately expressed my above mentioned ideas. I am eager to convey them fully and shall welcome any call from you in this connection. I can see you in Delhi on any Friday without any interference in the University work.

I trust this letter will find you in excellent health.

Qaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah,
President,
All India Muslim League,
10, Aurangzeb Road,
New-Delhi.

I have the honour to be,
Yours devotedly,
Mohd Afzal Husain Qadri

Mohammad Mukhtar Azad

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH.

Aftab Hostel
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH

Dated 23. 9. 1942

Our Revered Qaid-i-Azam,

May I remind you that in the month of May I as leader of the Duty Society Deputation of the Aligarh Muslim University, along with other members of the deputation approached you to seek your valuable guidance. You had kindly condescended to give us certain instructions and had asked us to propagate the ideal of Pakistan, to explain the aim and objects for which the Muslim League stands and to try to generate in the muslim masses a feeling to assert their right to live nobly and freely. We completed our tour towards the end of July. You will, I am sure, be glad to learn that it was a tremendous success. We succeeded in raising a large sum for the alma-mater and did our utmost to further the cause of our truly representative organization, the Muslim League. We emphasised the need to join the League, expalined its aims and objects, spoke of the valuable services that it had done with in so short a period, told our audience all about the League Defence Committee which was then going

round the country,and laid great stress on the fact that the salvation of mussalmans lies only in unitary solidity and becoming members of one single organization.We carried with us the torch of League ideals every where we went and with its blaze fire of enthusiasm spread from breast to breast. I donot say this to signify the zeal with which we worked;I only speak of it to impress upon you the eager response of our co-religionists to th League's Call.We witnessed in the muslimm masses signs of life and awakening;they take active interest in politics,they are concerned about their future;they are impatient with the present state of affairs and are anxious to serve the League.

The deputation which I had the honour to lead went to Pataudi,Lahore,Tonk,Bhópal,Kurwai,Bombay, Jangeera,Sachin,Mangrol,Manavadar,Junagadh,Jaora, respectively.Wherever branches of the state Muslim League existed,they proved to be of great help to ~~the State~~ us and we in our turn did our best to carry our your instructions and further

the Muslim League cause.

We spent our Summer Vacations working for the University and the League. Now we want to utilize our Autumn Vacations which will commence from the first of October,1942,doing something of a constructive nature for our community. Now as before we look to you for guidance.I and my friends are eager to do some real service.I hope you will kindly let us know the lines on which we should work.

Yours Obediently,

Mohammad Mukhtār Azād

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.
4th October 1942

Dear Mr. Mukhtar Azad,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd of September and thank you for it. I am glad to hear that your mission was a success.

With regard to your continuing your work during the vacations on the lines you have followed with certain amount of success, as indicated in your letter I can only repeat what I said to you in our last interview -- Be the missionaries of the Muslim League policy and programme.

Yours sincerely

Mohammad Mukhtar Azad Esq
Aftab Hostel,
Muslim University
Aligarh.

SHAMSUL ULAMA JUMA MASJID DELHI
SYED AHMAD SHAHI IMAM

Jama Masjid,
Delhe
12th Oct. 1942

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I welcome 'Dawn' as the sole champion of Muslim rights. It has taken root right deep into my heart and I pray for its prosperity under your sincere and able guidance. You have done a great service ~~a great service~~ to Muslim Community. May God keep you long enough to uplift- us to our past grandeur!

Yours Sincerely

(Sd) Shams-ul-Ulama Mohtsi
Syed Ahmad,
Imam Jama Masjid

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

13th October 1942

Dear Moulvi Saheb,

Many thanks for your letter of the 12th of October and I am much encouraged by your expression of good wishes and appreciation of our efforts in bringing out "Dawn" as a first class English Daily.

We want all the support of the Musalmans in this big undertaking.

Yours sincerely

Shamsul Ulema Moulvi
Syed Ahmad,
Imam Jama Masjid,
Delhi.

Vice-President.

BUCHA
Muslim League,
Aligarh.

Dated 5/12 194?

My be loved Qaied Azam,

I sent you a letter two weeks ago, but received no reply, For you were on your Punjab tour. You told me in Aligarh tha-t you can,t be the president of our Bucha Muslim League, but the members are very much desirous to see a post filled by your name. In the meeting which was held some weeks ago, you were elected unimously Patron of Aligarh Bucha Muslim Leage. Your name was proposed by the chair and I hope you will keep the dignity of the chair by accepting the requst of your infant follwers. If you will be kind enough to send a message, which could be read before the members, we would be much

thankful to you. Buchas cannot become the members of All India Muslim League or of Muslim students fedration. So we have decided to convert the Aligarh Bucha Muslim League into all India Bucha Muslim League. We have decided not to do any thing without your permission, so plaase write us that should we take further steps in this move or not.

Faithfully Yours
[signature]
Vice President
Aligarh Bucha Muslim League

Address:
Fasih uddin Ahmed
Vice-President- Aligarh Bucha
Muslim League. Bengali Kothi
Civil Lines
ALIGARH.

I.I.Chundrigar, Esq.
President,
Bombay Provincial League,
Choupaty,
BOMBAY.

HOTEL CECIL,
AGRA U.P.
8th December, 1942

Dear Sir,

I beg to inform you that the Council of the All-India Muslim League that met in Delhi on the 9th November 1942 has delegated the authority to me to make such arrangements as may be considered proper for the holding of the next Annual Sessions of the All-India Muslim League. Owing to other engagements I was unable to attend to this matter earlier, but now I would like to know your views as to where the next Sessions of the All-India Muslim League should be held. It, of course, would be during the Easter holidays, and I should like to know whether your Province is ready and willing to invite the Sessions.

Please let me know your views, and if you decide to invite the Sessions, let me have your definite invitation and I shall get in touch with you further, if necessary, by telegraphic communication, as the time is very short. Please therefore send me your reply without delay.

I may inform you that hitherto the All-India Muslim League has held its Annual Sessions at the following places:-

1.	In 1936	....	Bombay
2.	In 1937	....	Lucknow
3.	In 1938	....	Patna & Calcutta (Spl.)
4.	In 1939	....	Calcutta
5.	In 1940	....	Lahore
6.	In 1941	....	Madras
7.	In 1942	....	Allahabad

Therefore the remaining provinces where the All-India Muslim League Sessions has not taken place are Sind, Assam, Orissa, North West Frontier Province, Baluchistan and Central Provinces.

Yours sincerely,

Sd: M.A. JINNAH

Similar letters were sent to:

1. Nawab Ismail Khan,
President Provincial Muslim League,
Meerut U.P.

2. Maulana Akram Khan,
President, Provincial Muslim League,
c/o AZAD, Calcutta.

3. Nawab Ismail,
President Bihar Muslim League,
Patna.

4. Nawab Iftikhar Husain Mamdot,
President Punjab Provincial Muslim
League, Davis Road, Lahore.

5. Hon'ble Mr. Padsha M.C.S.
President Madras Provincial Muslim
League, Madras.

6. Khan Bahadur Khuhro,
President Sind Provincial Muslim
League, Karachi.

7. Bhakt Jamal Khan,
President N.W.F.P. Muslim League,
Peshawar.

8. Khan Bahadur Moulvi Rauf Shah,
President C.P.Provincial Muslim
League, Nagpur.

9. President Provincial Muslim League,
c/o Hon'ble Mr.Abdul Matin Choudhury,
Minister, Shillong.

10. Kazi Mohammad Isa,
President Baluchistan Muslim League,
Quetta.

11. Husain Malik,
President Provincial Muslim League,
Delhi.

Hotel Cecil,
AGRA U.P.
9th December 1942

To
The Vice President,
Aligarh Bucha Muslim League,
Civil Lines, ALIGARH.

Dear Sir,

I thank you and the members of the Bucha Muslim League for having shown your regard and affection for me but I regret very much, as I told you at Aligarh, that I cannot be the President of the Bucha Muslim League, but since you have unanimously elected me as a patron of the Aligarh Bucha Muslim League, let it be so, and I thank you for the honour you have done me. My message to you is: Discipline, unity and work for the uplift of your people selflessly, and unreservedly and sincerely.

I do not agree with your suggestion that the Bucha Muslim League should be made into an All India Muslim League. As a matter of fact, I think there should be no other Muslim League except the All India Muslim League and that the boys and girls should wait until they attain the age which makes them eligible to join the All India Muslim League, but the Bucha Muslim League is a social organisation which might be considered as a useful preliminary training for children to equip them, and qualify them to be useful members of the All India Muslim League when they attain the age of 18 if they choose to join. I am definitely opposed to any other organisation except the All India Muslim League which is the only authoratative and representative organisation of the Muslims and therefore I am clearly of opinion that the Bucha Muslim League should not go beyond its legitimate functions as an organisation of children who believe in the Muslim League.

Yours sincerely,

ISMAIL MANZIL,
PATNA CITY.
The 13th Dec.1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am in receipt of your circular D.O. from Agra. I thank you for your courtsey and kindness in asking my opinion as where the Annual - - Session of the All India Muslim League should be held, also whether we in Bihar are willing and prepared to invite. In reply I am to inform -- you that while we are always anxious to reinvite Muslim League Session to Bihar and to have the pleasure of meeting the distinguished guests - I regret that this year owing to abnormal distressing economic condi--tions we are unable to have the previlage and honour of meeting any -- such request.

In view of the present communication and other difficulties I am personally of opinion that Sind, Orissa, and Assam should be ruledout. I am inclined to suggest Delhi Province as the best place which is most Central and where arrangement is easily possible both for holding - - - Session as well as for providing accomodations for deligates, should it not meet with your approval then Peshawar or Nagpoor.

With kind regards,

Yours Sincerely,

Ismail

To

Quaid-a-Azam M.A.Jinnah,Esqr.,M.L.A.,

President, All India Muslim League,

Cecil Hotel, Agra U.P.

Private and personal

8, Beadon Road,

Lahore.
Dec.13, 1942.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It is with sincere regret and great pain that I request you to allow me to resign from the Presidentship of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation. I have been serving in this capacity for the last seven months and I have done my little bit to promote the cause of my Millat. But I feel it is impossible for me to continue in this office any longer. My reasons are not political but personal.

I knew my limitations when I accepted this office. I told my friends that I was not fit for it and so I should be excused. But they did not listen to my protests. Seven months' of work in the political field in Punjab have thoroughly convinced me that I am a square peg in a round hole. The sooner I wash my hands off the better.

Unfortunately our politics are not very clean and our standards of public morality is very low. People in Punjab would stoop so low to defeat a political apponent that they would invent any number of lies to tarnish his reputation. They think it is the easiest way to defeat him. I prize my moral character more than any thing else. My God knows so far I have done nothing which would make me hang my head in shame. I was subjected to so much Calumny during the past ten days that even a thorough scaundrel would pity my lot. And what was my fault?

Most of these Calumniators knew that they had nothing to say against me but they thought they could achieve their object only by spreading lies about my private and moral character. This has not broken my heart but this has embittered my feelings to such extent that it is impossible for me to work under the circumstances.

There is another factor which has compelled me to take this step. I feel we are working in an atmosphere of mutual distrust and suspicion. One does not know when his own colleagues would let him down. Enemy thinks there is a price for every Muslim worker in Punjab. I am afraid, sofar, we have not been able to disappoint him. Our workers yield iether to threats or to temptations. I know there are many corrupt and dishonest people working in the League and the Muslim Students' Federation. My nature revolts against working in co-operation with these people but my friends tell me that we must suffer them as long as we are not in a position to shunt them off. They say expediency demands it. I have tried my best to adjust myself to these circumstances but, I must confess, I have failed miserably. I am an extremist by nature. I love my friends to the extent of worship and I hate my enemies like the devil himself. I cannot change my nature and it is impossible to work in Punjab unless I change it.

These are my reasons and I hope you would appreciate my difficult position. I will continue to work as a humble soldier but I want to be relieved of a position of responsibility. I have no personal axe to grind. I have no ambition to become a leader. My present would, therefore, neither help me nor the League. I would request you to allow me to work as an ordinary worker. I hope I would be able to put in more work in that capacity.

I have not consulted any of my friends and colleagues before taking this step because I know they would not have allowed me to do so. I will resign as soon as I hear from you.

Yours Sincerely,

Hameed Nizami

President,

PPunjab Muslim Students' Federation

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From

Sir Syed M. Saadulla,

Prime Minister of Assam.

President, Assam Provincial Muslim League,
Shillong.

Shillong, 14th Decr 1942

To

M.A. Jinnah, Esqr.,
President, All India Muslim League,
Bombay.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of 8th December 1942, from Agra, I beg to inform you that, on account of Assam being a front-line province and that aerial attack by the enemy has been recommenced on the province, I do not think it proper or safe to invite the All India Muslim League to hold its annual session in Assam next year. As you wanted a reply "without delay", I am sending you this communication after consultation with office bearers of the Assam Provincial Muslim League like Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhury, Khan Saheb Mudabbir Hussain Choudhury, Secretary, and a few others. A consultation with my Council or Executive Committee would have meant a long delay and, in all probability, I could not have replied to you earlier than 15th January next. I am, however, consulting the members of my Council and if they disagree with the view expressed in this letter, I will inform you later on, but I have every confidence that, taking into consideration

the present war situation in Assam, my Council and the Executive Committee will agree with the reply that I am sending hereby.

Yours sincerely,

Syed Md. Saadulla

The Azad

THE ONLY VERNACULAR MUSLIM DAILY

Phone—Calcutta 465 (2 lines)
Gram—"MOHAMMADI" Cal.

86A, LOWER CIRCULAR ROAD,
CALCUTTA.

14. 12. 42

محترم بندہ تسلیم -

چونکہ نوازشنامہ کے لفافہ پر میرا نام غلط اور پتہ ناکافی لکھا گیا تھا اس لئے خط ملنے میں بہت تاخیر ہو گئی علاوہ بریں اندنوں کلکتہ سے باہر مدھو پور میں مقیم ہوں اس لئے بھی ۲۴ گھنٹہ کی مزید تاخیر ہو گئی - لہذا نوازشنامہ مورخہ ۱ ڈسمبر آج ۱۲ کو دستیاب ہوا - امید ہے کہ ان حالات کو مدنظر رکھتے ہوئے جواب کی تاخیر معاف فرمائینگے -

میرا ذاتی خیال یہ ہے کہ امسال کلکتہ میں سالانہ اجلاس کا انعقاد ناممکن ہوگا -

بہرحال میں آج ہی مسٹر شہید سہروردی کو خط لکھ رہا ہوں -

میری رائے میں اگر ممکن ہو سکے تو اولاً سندھ اور اس کے بعد سرحد میں اجلاس کی کوشش زیادہ مناسب ہوگی -

خادم

محمد اکرم خاں

Meerut

Dec. 14th

M. A. Jinnah Esqr
President All India Muslim League
New Delhi

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dt 8th Dec from Agra, inquiring whether our Province is ready & willing to invite the next session of the A. I. Muslim League which is to be held during the Easter holidays & in reply to say that I greatly regret it will not be possible for us to extend an invitation for the next annual session being held in our Province, as only last year, we

had to incur huge expenditure in holding it at Allahabad. It will be presumptuous on my part to suggest as to where it should be held, because I am not in a position to know what the conditions in those Provinces are where the session has not taken place.

Yours sincerely

Md. Ismail Khan
President U. P.
Prov. Muslim
League.

Fort, Pandharkawada
(Berar)
15th December 1942.

My dear Jinnah Saheb,

I acknowledge with thanks your kind letter of the 8th instant. Owing to wrong address on the envelope which was as follows:

"Khan Bahadur Maolvi Rauf Shah, President C.P. Provincial Muslim League, Peshawar N.W.F.P." I got it on the 14th. I have sent today letters to the members of the Provincial Working Committee inviting their opinion about holding the All India Muslim League Session in this Province. I expect to get replies within a week and I shall further place the matter before the meeting of the Provincial Council which is being convened in the Christmas week at Akola, Berar. Telegraphically I shall communicate to you the decision of the Pro. Council which will be arrived at after taking into consideration all the Pros. & Cons. of the situation.

I heartily Congratulate you on your very successful tour of Punjab.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely

S. A. Rauf Shah

MINISTER

GOVT. OF SIND

Sukkur (Sind)
16th December 1942.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam Sahib

Thanks many for your two letters which I received last night in tour, as I left Karachi on tour of 10 days on 9th instant. Two more Muslims have joined our party and our party has ~~the~~ now the strength of 28 members. I hope we will be able to make it 30 in a short time. The decision of the Committee is long overdue and I shall be much obliged if you kindly tell Nawab Md. Ismail khan to announce the decision soon.

As regards inviting of All India Muslim League session I am going to Karachi tomorrow and will consult friends and will write to you within two three days.

With kindest regards
Yours sincerely,

M. A. Khuhro

40, Theatre Road,
Calcutta.

The 20th December, 1942.

My dear Sir,

Our President, Moulana Md. Akram Khan has sent me your letter pegarding the next sessions of the All-India Muslim League. I have discussed the letter with Sir Nazimuddin, and other members of our Working Committee present in Calcutta. They are of opinion that although there may be some hesitation owing to the remote possibility of Calcutta being bombed, a session in Calcutta will be most useful and is bound to create considerable enthusiasm in Bengal. We, therefore, have much pleasure in inviting you definitely to our Province for the next session.

Yours sincerely,

Shaheed
Suhrawardy

M.A.Jinnah Esq.
10, Aurangzib Road
New Delhi.

10, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi.
21st December 1942.

My dear Hameed Nizami,

I am in receipt of your letter of 13th December, 1942 and I also received reports from other quarters and my information is this that the attempt to create disruption among the Students Federation has practically failed. I have read your letter very carefully and I think you are unnecessarily upset and impatient. You cannot give up your place in the Muslim Students Federation as a President elect because some people trying to intrigue against you so long as you are enjoying the confidence of the solid body of the Students to whom you owe a duty. You should not care for those people who want to get rid of you and if you resign it would be exactly what your opponents want. Now these are matters entirely for you people who are on the spot to judge and decide. I can only say that if I were in your place I should not get into temper or huff and throw up the spunge. As far as I can judge you should remain at the helm so long as you have the support and confidence of the solid body of the Muslim Students Federation.

Yours faithfully,

Mr. Hameed Nizami,
8, Beadon Road, Lahore.

2. Lytton Road.
Quetta.
27.12.42.

My Dear Mr Jinnah.

I am in receipt of your very kind letter of the 9th inst. I am sorry I could not reply you any earlier as I was away from the town. I shall be the first to send an invitation to you to hold the Annual Session of the All India Muslim League at Quetta, but for the Easter Holidays — it would still be extremely cold & those coming from outside would find it rather unpleasant.

My humble submission is that the Conference should be held at some place in N.W.F.P. — Peshawar would be very suitable. It would create a very good

Christian there. If we must win over all these majority Provinces so that they should be solidly with the League

In case Peshawar cannot be fixed then it must be in Sind where our Ministry is working. From there we can expect a good deal of help.

Since these are the only two majority Provinces where so far League ministry exists there.

I therefore take the liberty of recommending these two Provinces.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely

G. G. Iza

LUCKNOW:
Dated 23rd December 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Viceroy's recent utterance is positively mischievous. I am glad that Mr. Rajagopalacharya has seen through the game and has warned Hindus to beware of the unity of India stunt. There may have been doubt in some minds that after the Pakistan issue came into forefront unity of India could only be secured by the Hindus at the cost of the freedom of India, but now every reasonable mind ought to realize the truth underlying the idea. The Hindus generally, however, have received it with jubilation inspite of C.R's warning, forgetting the fact that under a United India with legitimate safeguards for the minorities, the British Government will continue to exercise its powerful influence in the name of the protection of the minorities. Last time, when I met you, you deplored the short-sightedness of the Hindu mind and we are now seeing the force of your remarks.

Taking into account all the circumstances I think if Sir Nazimuddin could agree to take the risk of a long journey, nothing could be better. Failing him, I would suggest Qazi Mohammad Isa's name.

I hope you are quite well.

Yours sincerely,
Khaliquzzaman

Sadiq Garh Palace,
The 24th December, 1942.

Respected Mr Jinnah

You may kindly remember that I had the honour to be received by you on the 20th of the last month at the Mamdot House, Lahore when I laid before you a letter from His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur in which he had requested you for a visit to the State.

In reply to this you were good enough to say that it was not possible then, but that you might be able to do so in the beginning of February next and that you will be pleased to convey the same in your letter in reply to His Highness also.

I submitted the same to His Highness, at which he was naturally very pleased but he is still looking forward to its confirmation by your own letter to him. I do hope in these days of the irregularity of mails it has not been mislaid.

I apologise for the trouble I am giving, but we are all so very happy to think that you may be

visiting this part of the country that to know about it definitely will mean such a satisfaction for all your admirers.

Also there was another request which I had been graciously commanded to lay before you verbally. It was for your photo which His Highness would appreciate very much to have.

Hoping that you will please be good enough to consider both the requests favourably.

Yours Sincerely

Mohamad Amir

M.A.Jinnah Esquire,

Bar-at-Law,

Malabar Hill,Bombay.

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THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE
SHAHRU CASTLE, MOHAMEDALI ROAD
BOMBAY, 3
Telephone No. 30409
Telegraphic Address: "PATRIOTS"

مسلم لیگ صوبۂ بمبئی
شاہرو کاسل محمد علی روڈ بمبئی ۳
ٹیلیفون نمبر ۳۰۴۰۹
تار کا پتہ "پیٹریٹس"

Ref.

24th December 1942.

Dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I am in receipt of your kind letter dated the 8th instant inviting my views regarding the holding of the next Sessions of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay. I placed your letter for consideration before the Committee of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League at its meeting held on 23/12/42. The Committee considered the various difficulties confronting them including those regarding the want of accommodation either in the hotels or in any flats for the large number of persons, who are sure to attend the next sessions, which is bound to be a momentous one. The want of a suitable site, which could accommodate the large gathering was also considered. But in spite of all these handicaps, the Committee has unanimously passed a resolution extending a hearty invitation to hold the next Sessions of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay during the ensuing Easter Holidays.

It appears from the form of your letter that you have probably written similar letters to other Provinces. If your final choice falls on Bombay, kindly announce your decision early, so that preparations may be taken in hand as early as possible in view of the shortness of time.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

(I. I. Chundrigar),
PRESIDENT. B.P.M.L.

(3) Bihar

ISMAIL MANZIL,
PATNA CITY.

The 24th December,42.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

On behalf of Muslim Bihar and Bihar Provincial Muslim League it is my duty to offer you our felicitation and most sincere congratulation on your Birth Day and to pray to all Merciful Allah to grant you - - - longest life of several hundred years in the enjoyment of perfect - - health to guide the distiney of Muslim India. With devotion and unflin--ching loyalty I assure you that Muslim Bihar shall unitedly stand -- with you in all hours of trial.

Sincerely wishing you a very Happy New Year and with kindest -- regards.

Yours Sincerely,

Ismail

To

Quaid-a-Azam M.A.Jinnah,Esqr.,M.L.A., Barrister-at-Law,
President All India Muslim League,
10, Aurangzab Road,
New Delhi.

7, Albuquerque Road,

New Delhi.
27.12.42.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter dated 20.12.42 I have the honour to state that in its meeting on 17.12.42 the Council of Delhi Provincial Muslim League resolved to request you to hold the next Annual Session of the All India Muslim League in Delhi.

The Council has further instructed me to present to you the following grounds in support of their request:

1. That hitherto the All India Muslim League has held no Annual Session in Delhi.

2. That in order to intercept the Azad Conference propaganda it is imperative that the Session be held here.

3. That Delhi being Capital of India it is desirous that we should have a strong organization here. We feel that the Session will create enthusiasm in the public to assist us in the realisation of our goal.

4. That in order to intercept the propaganda of the so-called other Muslim organizations it is essential that the Session be held here.

5. And that owing to transport difficulties Delhi will be central for members coming from various provinces of India.

In the light of the above submissions, Sir, I hope

you will decide to hold the Sesssion in Delhi.

Yours sincerely,

Hussain [signature]

President Provincial
Muslim League Delhi.

Qaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah,

10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

Qaid-e-Azam, M.A. Jinnah,

President, All India Muslim League,

New Dehli.

Dear Sir,

In connection with your kind letter dated 8 -12 1942, asking me to inform you of my views about the feasibility of holding the Annual Session of the A.I.M.League in this Province (C.P. and Berar) during the coming Easter week , I have the honour to state that I communicated forthwith the contents of your letter to all the members of the Provincial League Working Committee requesting them to give their opinion as soon as possible. The majority of the replies did not, however, support the idea of extending an invitation for All India Session in view of the difficulties of transport, the supply of provisions, water and light, collecting of necessary materials, abnormally high preces, failure of crops in the major parts of the Province, general poverty of the Musalmans and absence of big Muslim Land-Lords and commercial magnates here. But as the Annual Meeting of the Provincial League Council was going to be held on the 27th instant, this item was also included inthe agenda of work, as already communicated to

you by me. The meeting which was very well attended, had a full dressed discussion on the subject. The sense of the meeting was that had the members been not faced with the insoluble problem of scarecity, high prices, difficulties of transport etc. , all of them would have whole-heartedly approved of the idea of inviting the A.I.M. League session in this Province. Some of them also felt that the time was too short and inadequate for making preparations for the session. Besides, the season would be very hot in the Eastern in his Province

Most needed articles like rice, wheat, and sugar are not to be had in many of the Districts, and they are generally obtained from the black market. Though the difficulties seem to be unsurmountable , still there are some who are prepared to work under any circumstances. The house was in a helpless position, and the over-whelming majority could not see its way to meet the extraordinary situation of feeding and accomodating thousands of guests. The general view of the council is that although holding of All India Session would be a matter of high honour and glory for this Province, yet this year is not suited for the same. in view of the reasons mentioned above.

I have already sent a telegram to you to-day intimating the devided opinion of the house. I also share the

views of the majority of the members present at yesterday's meeting, and consider that the City of Bombay with very huge indigenous Muslim population of commercial and industrial classes will be a suitable venue for the Conference this year; but at the same time we are in duty bound to bow our heads before the wishes of our Qade-Azam.

I am leaving for Pandharkawada tomorrow and will be at Nagpur from 6th to 8th January 1943.

Akola ~~th 28th~~ 28th December 1942.

Your's Sincerely,

S. A. Razzaq Sheh

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

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Handed in at (Office of Origin).	Date.	Hour.	Minute.	Service Instructions.	Words.

TO O ME NAGPUR 31 15 QAIDEAZAM JINNAH BOMBAY

= PRAY HOLD SESSION NAGPUR PROVINCIAL LEAGUE WONT

AGREE UNLESS ORDERED = SIDDIQALIKHAN =

N.B.—The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, should be written after, but separated from, the text.

Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi
6th December 1941

Dear Sir Eve[illegible]

I am in rec[illegible]ur [illegible]tter without a date and beg to inform you that your notes of our talk enclosed by you were not intended as an interview or a statement emanating from me. I [illegible]alked to you to make you understand the background of the demand of Muslim India for Pakistan, and if I have made our position clear to you you may make any use of it you like on your own. Besides, your notes are not quite clear and correct in many respects and in some respects they are liable to be misunderstood as you have put them down. It is not possible for me, therefore, to correct your notes, but so far as the Pakistan demand is concerned which was the main point that we discussed, you will find from the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League that it is very clearly defined and I am sending you a copy herewith.

I thank you for informing me that you have fully appreciated and understood the position of the Muslim League. It gives me very great satisfaction indeed to hear from you that you are now in a position to appreciate and understand the Muslim League point of view.

With all good wishes

Yours sincerely

GOVERNMENT HOUSE

Madras

Dec 16th

Dear Mr Fennell

Very many thanks for your letter of Dec 6th. I am so sorry that you do not want the interview published in the Spectator, I think it is important that your point of view should be understood – I have sent Mr Gandhi a note regarding the interview he gave. I wish it had been possible to have had yours as well.

With good wishes

Yours sincerely

Evelyn Wrench

M. H. French Esq.

trying to make all . [illegible] son you are attempting the impossible. we have no [illegible] ,inst the Hindus but they are fundamentally different [illegible] .r fundamental way of life, our laws, our jurisprudenc [illegible] er.' When I suggested that the Muslims originally were Hindus, he said "You can't go back a thousand years. We are governed by Mahommedan laws, the law of succession is different, affecting inheritance, the entire economic basis of our life is different. Germany is nearer to you than the Hindu is to the Muslim."

He said "As you know, in my young days, I was a member of Congress, but by degrees I realised the insuperable barriers that divide Muslim from Hindu." He emphasised an instance in his own life,- he had been very friendly with the Hindu leader, Pundit Malivaya. One evening Jinnah and his wife were dining when M. came to see them, so he said to M.,"I know you can't eat with us but won't you sit at the table while we finish ?" But M. remained standing and said it wasnot possible. Then Jinnah said to him, "Won't you then take a seat away from the table ?" But M. again demurred and said that he could not sit on the same carpet on which the table stood, while they were eating, so the problem was finally settled by their rolling the carpet up and placing a chair on the cleared space!

He said, "The whole conception of our religion is that of brotherhood, we cannot understand the Hindu caste system. For instance on Fridays, when I drive to the Mosque, my chauffeur comes in and kneels beside me, at the end of the service we embrace each-other as brothers. Take your British soldiers in India any Mussulman would eat with them, but not so the Hindus. A certain way of bringing about civil strife would be to transfer the powers of the British Parliament to a central cabinet in India. If you think this is the solution of the Indian problem you are living in a fool's Paradise."

He thinks the ignorance of people in Great Britain concerning the Muslim point of view is a real danger, and fears that the British electorate may get so puzzled that it may make some unwise move. He says that Muslim India is not obsessed by any Swaraj principles, and in the two Muslim zones the Governments would be quite readyto discuss with Great Britain economic problems in a friendly spirit. "How are you going to break the present tension," he asked, "all this talk about the Hindus being ready to give us a blank cheque is rubbish. What the Hindu proposals in effect mean is that we are expected to sign our own death warrant. As far as the Hindu, Sikh and other minorities in our two zones, we would be prepared to give the fullest guarantees."

He thinks that many of the depressed classes are with them and would prefer their rule to that of theHindus. He drew attention to the fact that no Hindu household emplyys Musselmen as servants, within the home, in the case of a chauffeur or outside servant he must not enter the dwelling. "On the other hand we Muslims employ Hindus, in my Bombay house I employ five Hindus, one Christian, and three Muslims." THe large business houses which are Hindu hardly ever employ Muslims. He thinks so long as the Muslim point of view is not understood the Muslims are really supporting the war effort more than their self-respect should permit. If Parliament met the Muslim point of view, they would give the utmost cooperation in the prosecution of the war "For we both believe in the same things; Within the framework of the present constitution give us a place in the centre."

I had an h 2nd Dec 1941 ank talk with Mr. Jinnah yesterday. I wa retyping of 2nd PAGE A. ised to learn from him that he is quite read, status of a Dominion within the British Commonwealth, recognising the necessity for foreign affairs and defence to be "reserved" for the time being. He was most vehement and positive that the Muslim population of India, for the solid opinion of whm he spoke, would never consent to be participants in any scheme which insured permanent Hindu domination over the whole of India.

He believes that the only basis of settlement in India would be the creation of ~~fixx~~ a few/large zones, each of which to be self-governing, apart from foreign policy and defence, for the time being, to be similar in status to, say, the Provinces of Upper anc Lower Canada, before the passing of the British North American Act in 1865, or similar to Ontario and Quebec today. He several times alluded to the example of Canada, and how political power gradually grew. The various zones should be redelimited, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, so that the areas in which the Musalmans are in an overwhelming majority, such as the North-Western and Eastern parts of India, should form Muslim Homelands. The rest of India, with a population of about 250,000,000 would be predominantly Hindu. As for the Indian States, he would propose to leave them as they are. He thinks the Hindus

He thinks th ... ied with this vast territory and ... y double that of the United States.

He said, in no possible system that can be devised, which entails a permanent Hindu majority, would Muslim India consent to participate. It is ridiculous for people like Sapru to talk about an "All-India" patriotism. In everything that matters in daily life, from morning to evening, the Hindus are diametrically opposite to Muslims. He quoted even a saying of Gandhi, in which the Mahatma said, that many Hindus would "rather die than accept a cup of water from a Musalman". He thinks it is perfectly sound to partition India, in fact it is the only way to get a political system working. He thinks it is not necessary to arrange all the details of partition before the settlement, and quoted the example of Ireland, Burma and Sind, decided on by the Round Table Conference. The Muslim zones would roughly contain a quarter of the population of India with sixty-five million Muslims and thirty-five million non-Muslims. He described the Hindu and Muslim zones as being "practically enlarged Indian States."

The first person to mention to me the idea of dividing India into zones or states, similar to Australian or Canadian provinces, was Sir Feroz Khan Noon.

Mr. Jinnah repudiated the idea of including Afghanistan

2nd Dec 41 Retyping Page C

in the North ... ed that naturally the

relations betw... ıran, Iraq, Egypt, Arabia and Turkey

India would nat... rightly ~~le; and he does not think that~~

these Muslim State w... become ~~materialistic~~, ~~similar to~~

~~Turkey, because what brought down the fall of Muslim religion~~

~~in Turkey was~~ her ~~being quite behind the times~~. He reiterated

his belief in the evolutionary principle, bringing Canada to

its present status. There can not be any question of federation of all the Muslim Countries

He kept on repeating "you will never have a workable

federal constitution for all India. I see no alternative to

my scheme. In trying to make India one Dominion you are

attempting the impossible. We have no ill-will against the

Hindus but they are fundamentally different from us. Our

fundamental way of life, our laws, our jursprudence differ."

When it was suggested to him that the Muslims orginally were

Hindus, he said "you cannot go back a thousand years. You might as well say that we are all children of Adam. We

are governed by Muslim laws, the law of succession is different

affecting inheritance, the entire economic basis of our life & culture

is different. Germany is nearer to you than the Hindu is

to the Muslim."

He said, "As you know, in my young days, I was a member of

the Congress, but ~~by~~ degrees ~~I real~~ised the insuperable

barriers that divide Muslim from Hindu." ~~He emphasised~~ an

instance in his own life - he had been very friendly with

the Hindu lea . One evening Jinnah and his wife were ... lviya came to see them, so he said to M. "I kn... can eat with us but won't you sit at the table while we finish?" But M. remained standing and said it was not possib... Then Jinnah said to him, "Won't you then take a seat away from the table?" But M. Again demurred and said that he could not sit on the same carpet on which the table stood, while they were eating, so the problem was finally settled by their rolling the carpet up and placing a chair on the cleared space.

He said, "the whole conception of our religion is that of brotherhood. We cannot understand the Hindu caste system. For instance on Fridays, when I drive to the Mosque, my chauffeur comes and kneels beside me, at the end of the service we embrace each other as brothers. Take your British soldiers in India. ~~Any Musalman would eat with them, but not so the Hindus.~~ A certain way of bringing about civil strife would be to transfer the powers of the British Parliament to a central cabinet in India. If you think this is the solution of the Indian problem you are living in a fool's paradise."

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He thinks that many of the depressed classes are with ~~them~~ the Muslims and would prefer their rule to that of the Hindus. He drew attention to the fact that no Hindu household employs Muslims as servants, within the home, and in the case of a chauffeur or outside servant he must not enter the dwelling. "On the other hand the Muslims employ Hindus. In my Bombay house I employ five Hindus, one Christian and three Muslims. The large business houses which are Hindu hardly ever ~~xxxxx~~ employ ~~even at the present~~ moment when Muslims. He thinks/~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Muslim point of view is not clearly understood by the British, the Muslims are really supporting the war effort more than their self-respect should permit. If Parliament met the Muslim point of view, they would 283

give the utmost co-operation in the prosecution of the war,

religious, cultur[illegible] [illegible]mic, political, administrative and other rights and i[illegible] [illegible]cs in consultation with them.

"This Session fu[illegible]r authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."

22nd December 1941

Dear Sir Evelyn,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th inst. I am sorry that there is some misunderstanding. When I discussed matters with you I did not understand that you wanted an interview to be published in "The Spectator", and naturally there was a great deal of loose talk, as I wanted you to understand the Muslim view point, which is finally expressed in the Lahore Resolution, a copy of which I had sent you. But now I understand that you really wanted an interview to be published in "The Spectator", and I am therefore enclosing herewith what I consider the Muslim view point.

Thanking you for the interest you have taken in understanding the Muslim point of view,

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely

Sir Evelyn Wrench
Government House
Madras.

ident
ndrum, Travancore

MENT HOUSE,
MYSORE.

Jan 6th

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Very many thanks for your kind letter of 22nd which has been forwarded from Madras. If I may say so I thought your statement of the Muslim point of view admirably clear. I am therefore sending it to London.

I hope to be in Bombay on my way north early in February & perhaps I might get in touch with you there as I should like to tell you of some of my talks with various people.

With all good wishes & again many thanks

Yours sincerely

Evelyn Wrench.

Jan
1942

-2

Dear Sir Evelyn,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 6th inst. I am glad that you have sent my statement to London. Yes, I shall be very glad to see you when you are at Bombay in February.

Please let me know on your arrival and I shall be glad to fix up an appointment with you.

With best of wishes and kind regards

Yours sincerely

Sir Evelyn Wrench
c/o British Resident
Trivandrum, Travancore.

TAJ MAHA
BOMBAY

Jan 27th

7/1/61

Dear Mr Jinnah,

If you have a spare moment during the next 8 days I should appreciate 10 minutes with you. This time not an interview for publication.

Mr Gandhi has asked me to see him again at the end of next week & I should like, if possible, to have seen you.

With good wishes

Yours sincerely

Evelyn Wrench

TAJ MAHAL
BOMBAY.

Jan 29th.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for letting me see the enclosed.

I enjoyed our talk so much & will ponder over your remarks. After seeing Gandhi I will let you know if there is any-thing definite to tell you about.

With all good wishes

Yours sincerely

Evelyn Wrench.

GOVERN
NAG
CENTRAL

February 8th.

PRIVATE.

Dear Mr Jinnah

I had a long talk with Mr Gandhi on Feb.6 at Sevagram Ashram.

I asked him under what conditions he would be prepared "to meet Mr Jinnah to discuss Hindu-Muslim relations and nothing else." I said : "If I could persuade Mr Jinnah and five other representatives of the Muslim League to meet you, would you bring five other Hindu representatives of Congress to discuss Hindu-Muslim relations ?" Gandhi said : "I would be quite ready to meet Mr Jinnah as private individual for a talk but not as a Hindu representative of Congress, nor would I bring five Hindu Congressmen. "

I then said: "But would you not bring any friends to such a meeting, even if you do not go as a Hindu ?" He suggested the following friends:

Pyaretal
Amrit Kaur
Rayagopalachari
Dr S.K.Datta
Dr Mukerjee

He said at such a gathering he would be

prepared ·o ·y aspect of Hindu-Muslim relations. ıdently still opposed to doing anything thaı appear as if he were speaking only for the Hinuu..

I wish I could feel that my visit to the Ashram had achieved something definite – anyhow I did my best

With all good wishes

Yours sincerely

Evelyn Wrench

Address Feb 12-16

Barnetts Hotel, Allahabad

afterwards:-

c/o Messrs: Thomas Cook & Son

Bombay

March 7th '42

--ROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI

Private

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The object of this letter is to enquire whether you will be at Delhi at all during the next two or three weeks. From the 10th we shall be at the Hotel Cecil.

I have thought so much about our talks & feel more than ever that there can be no permanent solution of the Indian problem which

I wi ... like to bring
my wife ... in as I have told
her so much ... to you.

When at Lahore I met a number of Jinnah supporters including the Nawab of Mamdot. At Peshawar I met Dr. Khan Sahib (not a supporter) & Malik Khuda Bakhsh.

With all good wishes

Yours sincerely

Evelyn Wrench.

R.W. Brunt Esq.
17 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi.

Dear Jinnah Sahib,

I always look back to my four talks with you last winter with such pleasure, and I am glad to think that perhaps some of the articles I have written and the influence I have tried to bring to bear, may have assisted in helping the people in Great Britain to realise there are two Indias. I was a little disturbed by some of the statements which purport to have been made by you, that appeared in the Hindustani Times of June 23, to the effect that the Muslim League would favour the immediate withdrawal of the British. I thought I would therefore write to the fountain head to ascertain whether you had in anyway changed your attitude as expressed during my talks with you.

On Dec. 2 you stated a certain way of bringing about civil strife would be to transfer the powers of the British Parliament to a Central Cabinet in India. If you think this is the solution of the Indian problem you are living in a fool's Paradise."

In a written statement on Dec. 3, you said : "We want fully responsible Government for Muslim India, to be established as a Dominion in its relations with Great Britain, finally assuming all the powers of a Dominion of the Westminster variety. - like Canada for instance."

On Jan- the 20th, at Bombay you said : "I want Dominion status for the Northern Muslim zone, which means autonomy under the Crown. Foreign policy and Defence would of course be reserved subjects." You repeated emphatically twice : "I have no desire to break the British connection." You said that India has not yet reached the stage of Canada in 1865.

I am enclosing an Editorial comment from the Spectator of March 6th, in which you will see that that journal editorially appreciated the point that there were two Indias. I hate to add to your huge correspondance, and I am quite sure that you can clear up these points, My policy, as I think you know, ever since I landed in India, has been that there can be no permanent and peaceful solution of the Indian problem which does not recognise the Muslim desire to play its part in shaping the future Government under which it will exist.

I am writing this letter to you in my capacity as Chairman of the Spectator as I am naturally anxious for the Spectator public to realise that the policy of our paper was based on the various talks which I had the pleasure of having with you.

With kind regards and good wishes,

Yours sincerely

Evelyn Wrench

From

SIR EVELYN WRENCH.

HOTEL CECIL, DELHI.
TELEPHONE 6928

1942

Person

17 Aurangzeb Road
July 3rd.

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

I was so much interested to read the interview with you in this morning's Statesman, which reiterated so many of the views which you expressed to him personally. I hope it will be adequately reproduced in the London Press.

~~Miss~~ Mr. Edgar Snow, of the The Saturday Evening Post, is I believe going to Bombay in the near future, if he asks to see you I think it would be worth while as his writings have a big following in the U.S.A.

With kind regards, Yours sincerely

Evelyn Wrench

Dear Sir Evelyn,

I am in receipt of your letter of July 3rd, and also your previous letter.

I think I have made our position quite clear by my recent statement. whether it will reach London or not is more than I can tell you.

I shall be very glad to see Mr. Edgar Snow when he is in Bombay. I have also received a letter from him informing me that he is coming to Bombay shortly.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely

Sir Evelyn Wrench
Hotel Cecil
Delhi.

INDIA AT THE CROSS-ROADS: I

By SIR EVELYN WRENCH

TO understand the Indian problem is no easy task. The mind of the visitor who has the temerity to try to dovetail his conclusions into a complete survey must in the early stages of his investigations be somewhat chaotic. In neighbouring houses, on opposite sides of the same road, or in adjoining towns, the student is presented with entirely different solutions. No tour would be complete which omitted talks with Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah, with both of whom I have had the pleasure of discussing the present Indian situation during my present stay in India.

Here I will seek to present the Muslim point of view, and in a subsequent article I will record a conversation between Mr. Gandhi and myself. I had an hour and a half's talk with Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the President of the All-India Muslim League, at New Delhi, during his convalescence from an attack of influenza. The object of our talk was, in Mr. Jinnah's words to me: "to make you understand the background of the demand of Muslim India for Pakistan." I had hoped to have recorded the actual conversation that took place, but Mr. Jinnah prefers that I should limit myself to conveying the impression which the talk made upon me. I have also had the opportunity of discussing the present Muslim position with other leading Muslims; this article is therefore my interpretation of the general Muslim point of view. There are of course many Muslims who do not agree with the programme of the Muslim League, but as far as I could judge that body undoubtedly speaks with authority for the majority of those with whom I have come into contact.

At one of the first talks I had in India I was given a clear statement of what Pakistan stands for, and I realised how strong is the Muslim demand for Home Rule. One of the questions to be answered by the seeker for a solution of the Indian problem is when a minority ceases to be a minority? Is it reasonable to regard a national group of nearly a hundred million souls, with a highly developed culture, as a subordinate group? From the standpoint of those with whom I talked and who are convinced that they represent the great majority of the Muslim population of India, the Government of India's scheme of federation as outlined in the Act of 1935 is as dead as the dodo. The Muslim League in March, 1940, declared at its session that the Act was "altogether unacceptable to Muslim India," and again, "Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered *de novo*" and "no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it was framed with their approval and consent."

This last stipulation seems like a far-reaching claim to the right of veto. One plan which meets with a good deal of support is the proposal to split up India into five large zones, creating five autonomous States. Roughly speaking the two northern zones would consist of North-West India, in which there would be a Muslim majority of 70 per cent., and a north-eastern zone, including Bengal and Assam, with a Muslim majority of between 55 and 60 per cent. These two Muslim-controlled States would hold sway over roughly between a fifth and a quarter of the

population of India, with sixty-five million Muslims and thirty-five million non-Muslims. They would practically be enlarged Indian States, and would control their own affairs, with the exception of foreign policy and defence, which would be controlled by the central body under the Viceroy, representing the Crown. The remaining three zones would include all the rest of India, in which there would be a large Hindu majority and a population of nearly two hundred and fifty millions, or practically double that of the United States. Even with only these three zones the Hindus would have, according to the Muslims, the biggest population of any country in the world excluding China, and they should—once more according to the Muslims—be satisfied with this.

The Muslims suggest that the relationship of the Indian Princes with the Crown should remain as it is, as guaranteed by treaty. The States would therefore remain a group of some seventy millions, outside British India, as they are at present, but working in close association with the five zones into which British India would be divided. In talks with Muslims I am frequently impressed by the study they have given to the gradual evolution of Dominion Status within the Commonwealth. Canada's constitutional development was several times referred to, the classic example being the differences that divided Upper and Lower Canada at the time of the passing of the British North America Act, or as they are referred to today Ontario and Quebec, which have their own laws and institutions and yet live peacefully side by side.

Mr. Jinnah makes no bones about the lack of unity in India today. He says there is no such thing as unity, and that India is a constellation of nations and that the two major nations are the Hindus and the Muslims. As one Muslim expressed the matter to me: "In trying to make All-India into one Dominion you are attempting the impossible. We have no ill-will against the Hindus, but they differ fundamentally from us. Our way of life, our laws and our jurisprudence are entirely different. Germany is nearer to you than is the Hindu to the Muslim." Another Muslim said: "The whole conception of our religion is brotherhood. We cannot understand the Hindu caste-system; when I drive to the mosque on Fridays, my chauffeur comes and kneels beside me, and at the end of the service we embrace each other as brothers." Many Muslims consider that a certain way of bringing about civil strife would be to transfer the power of the Crown to a central Indian Cabinet. In a recent interview which Mr. Jinnah gave to the *News Chronicle*, he referred to the great danger of the British Government being stampeded under the pressure of recent developments in the war into making a new declaration according to the designs of Hindu—mainly, of course, Congress—leaders.

According to the Muslim leaders Pakistan is now a sacred article of their faith. I had seen statements in the Press that the proposed Muslim zones would seek to enter into a confederation including Afghanistan, Iran, Irak and Egypt. This development was not referred to by the Muslims with whom I have

talked. They naturally assume that the relations between Muslim India and the Muslim States in the Middle East would be intimate and friendly, but I certainly derived the impression that, once its desire for self-government had been conceded, Muslim India would be quite ready to remain a partner-State within the British Commonwealth, and would be willing to discuss economic problems with Great Britain, or other nations within the British Commonwealth, in a friendly and helpful spirit. From the standpoint of Muslim India, the sands are running out. If Great Britain meets her friendly advances in the spirit in which they are made, and agrees to the creation of an autonomous Muslim India, she will have a faithful and strong partner in a key position in Central Asia.

I was not able to form a very definite idea as to the federal body envisaged by the Muslims at the centre. It would probably be something in the nature of a permanent Imperial Council under the Presidency of the Viceroy, representing the Crown, which would have to deal with the reserved subjects of Foreign Policy and Defence; there Muslim India would meet the representatives of Hindu India and of the Indian States. Just as Canadian unity has grown as a result of the evolutionary process, so in all probability would grow the unity of India. So at least is the belief of many Muslims. Great Britain, with its experience of the strength of Ulster feeling so near at home, should, so I was told, understand the Muslim point of view.

THE SPECTATOR,

FEBRUARY 27, 1942

INDIA AT THE CROSS-ROADS: II —MR. GANDHI

By SIR EVELYN WRENCH

IT is ten years since my last talk with Mr. Gandhi: on that occasion the background was a drawing-room in Chelsea. This time our talk took place, just before Christmas, in his Ashram at Sevagram, near Wardha, and was of a more formal nature. My wife and I were escorted to the Ashram by a group of Congressmen in an ancient Ford car flying the Congress flag. The scene of the talk was Gandhi's cottage. He sat on the floor; a picture of Christ hung on the wall; on the ground around him were his papers and correspondence, neatly arranged, and his spinning-wheel. To his left, along the side wall, ten Congressmen, clad in white, sat on the floor. The Mahatma had two stools put at the foot of his mattress for us, and we felt somewhat like prisoners at the bar, though nothing could have been more cordial than his welcome before the formal interview began. Mr. Gandhi is in his seventy-fourth year and looks extremely well, despite a high blood-pressure, and looked better than he did at the time of the Round Table Conference. When the conversation touched on matters concerning which he feels deeply, Mr. Gandhi discarded the shawl he was wearing round his shoulders and took his spinning-wheel and sat stripped to the waist for the rest of the discussion. The temperature must have been well over 90 deg., and I envied him his scanty attire.

The following is Mr. Gandhi's account of the conversation, as taken down by his secretary:

Sir E.: I recently had an hour and a half's talk with Mr. Jinnah and heard his point of view. I do not know what following he has, but he reiterated again and again: "Never will Muslims be subservient to Hindu authority. You English and Germans are much closer to each other than Hindus and Muslims." I would like to know what you have to say in regard to this.

G.: I deny absolutely what Jinnahsaheb says. The Muslim is as much an Indian as I am, and of the same blood. There is no fundamental cleavage between Hindus and Mussalmans. We have lived in the same land as brothers for generations, and what has been possible all these years will certainly be possible in the future. With due respect to Jinnahsaheb, he resorts unconsciously to an untruth when he says what you have just quoted, and speaks as a disappointed man does in order to maintain his view at any cost. In any case, the fear of subservience is quite imaginary. No one can dominate a population of 80,000,000. Can such a number be termed a minority? I personally would resist the subservience even of the Parsis, who are a mere handful, i.e., 100,000, because I believe in equality for all, and that has throughout been the Congress creed. But I admit that Jinnahsaheb's fear, though in fact imaginary, is a real thing in his estimation, and therefore he has my sympathy.

Sir E.: What about the possibility of a free and equal India becoming a partner in the British Commonwealth in the sense that Canada and Australia are partners?

G.: Bitter experience has shown that India cannot be that in the sense that Canada and Australia are. At the moment the British Commonwealth is a commonwealth of *white* nations. But

I go a step further than you. Why only a *British* commonwealth? Whoever is victor, there should be, after the war, a commonwealth of all nations. The British Commonwealth must give place to this and no one must be excluded. Germany, Italy, Russia, all must come in, not only those who are today Allies of Britain. India will gladly be a member of such a commonwealth.

Sir E.: You are indulging in undue optimism. I worked for seven years for the "All Peoples' Association" in Europe, and my experiences there during the last two decades do not lead me to hope that real internationalism is round the corner. Anyhow, your and my goal of universal brotherhood is common. Is it then wise to destroy or abolish what has stood for a Commonwealth of at least some nations when the world is not ready for the ultimate ideal?

G.: It is not a question of abolition. It is a question of extending the scope of the British Commonwealth. If Britain wins wholly, Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and perhaps even Bolshevik Russia will disappear. If Britain were honest, which I dispute, she would then embrace all nations on terms of equality.

Sir E.: According to the sentiments expressed in the Atlantic Charter?

G.: What is the Atlantic Charter? It went down the ocean as soon as it was born! I do not understand it. And Mr. Amery denies that India is fit for democracy, while Mr. Churchill said the Charter could not apply to India. Force of circumstances will falsify their declarations. Personally, I like to believe that, if all become honest, the millennium is round the corner!

Sir E.: I know your views on pacifism. But all the same you won't impede the British war effort?

G.: I said I would not embarrass Britain. And so far as Civil Disobedience is concerned, I have demonstrated that this is so. A non-violent man cannot desire embarrassment. And Government, in using the term "symbolic" in their recent release of Satyagrahis, unsought by the Satyagrahis, have tacitly admitted non-embarrassment. Had Congress wished, it would have been possible to ignite a spark that would have swept right over India and which would certainly have deflected British energy from the war.

Sir E.: You want Britain to win, don't you? Cannot you under any circumstances give active support to our war effort?

G.: I do not wish disaster to British arms. In saying this I may be said to have modified my original words. But I cannot give active support in the war effort without denying a life-time of practice.

Sir E.: Compared with fifteen years ago, has not British opinion moved favourably towards India? There are two powerful sections of public opinion in Great Britain today—one which holds that she should move closer to the U.S.A. and the Dominions with a view to forming a federation between these English-speaking democracies and definitely cut loose from India, which, with its alien civilisation, they say has little in common with the Anglo-Saxons; the other consists of those who believe that the chief glory of the British Commonwealth is that it can admit nations of any race, creed or colour to become partners within its orbit. Do you not trust us? Do you not think that we are genuine when we see the difficulties inherent in the differing viewpoints of yourself and Mr. Jinnah? Would there not be civil war if we were to withdraw?

G.: I believe that a party wishing equality for India does exist in Britain. But it is an insignificant minority, and while I honour and like their opinion I cannot be enthused over it, for I know that those who shape policy and dominate are otherwise inclined. For me, therefore, it is only the Secretary of State who counts. I see no genuine ring in his statements. If he were honest he would not ask for an agreed solution among us as the first step. It is obvious that if Jinnahsaheb asks me for things which I cannot give him, he will naturally go to the third party, where he can get what he wants, as he did in London during the Round Table Conference. The minority pact was there flung on us one fine morning unknown to any of us. It is one of the most disgraceful chapters in British history. The Secretary of State should realise that the last word is in his hands. Hence it is that I have said you should retire and we shall have a pact in fifteen days. There may be civil war; it is highly probable there will be, but at the end of it there will be peace.

Sir E.: At the end of all war there is peace.

G.: Your proposition is wrong. You can only have lasting peace based on justice. We are an unarmed people. Your armies are meant to suppress an armed rebellion and are not for use by us. The Indian troops are mercenaries and would be of no use in civil war. It is the politically conscious Muslims and Hindus who will fight They will fight with sticks, staves and soda-water bottles, but they will soon tire, and there will be wise men enough among us to bring about an honourable peace.

Sir E.: Are you not assuming too much?

G.: I assume nothing. These are daily happenings. There is breaking of each other's heads for a couple of days and then there is peace.

Sir E.: But a Hindu cannot even dine with a Muslim. Mr. Jinnah says these social barriers matter a good deal.

G.: They do not. You inter-dine and inter-marry with Germans, and yet you are both saturated with hate for each other.

Sir E.: May I take it that you would oppose Pakistan even if it were agreed upon by the Muslims and Britain?

G.: No agreement between British and Muslims can affect me. An agreement between Hindus and Muslims alone will affect me.

Sir E.: Do you not think that Britain has stood for freedom and democracy—take Canada, Australia, South Africa?

G.: You have stood for these things simply for the spoliation of the weaker races. I have lived for twenty years in South Africa, and I know the quarrel between you and the Dutch was over the sharing of the spoils, and the same is happening elsewhere in Africa, too.

Sir E.: But very few are ready for a world Commonwealth. At what moment would you be willing to join a Commonwealth?

G.: When Africa, China, Japan are all included. I cannot be subservient anywhere.

Sir E.: Are you opposed to defence behind an international group?

G.: I would agree to a minimum international police force.

Sir E.: What about an air-force?

G.: On no account. I look upon air-power for destruction as a terrible crime against humanity.

Sir E.: But if you do not agree to an armed force to stop aggression other Hitlers may arise.

G.: They will not arise if justice prevails. Hitler is a scourge

sent by God to punish men for their iniquities.

Sir E.: Take the case of Abyssinia. If there had been an armed international force we could have stopped Mussolini from that conquest.

G.: You cannot cure a lesser evil by a greater evil. You might have succeeded in wiping out Italy, but how would that have helped? Britain's success in the exploitation of non-European races raised the ambition of Bismarck and later Mussolini and others.

Sir E.: But is not that mentality now passing? I assure you it is in England. Take the case of Iraq, to whom we have given independence.

G.: I wish I could think that. I do not agree that there is freedom in Iraq today. I do not read current history as you do. Nothing is of a permanent nature. One can only talk of good intentions when the war is over. I would love to see that Iraq at least had real complete independence after the war.

Sir E.: You may call me prejudiced, but Churchill has definitely announced that there will be no acquisition of territory, &c.

G.: You are not prejudiced. You have perforce to believe what is told you. I have grave doubts. I mean no ill. Having given up arms, I *can* mean none. I never think of imaginary evils, however. There is no distrust of men and mankind in me. They will answer before God, so why should I worry? But where my own mission is concerned my thought is active, and I try to wish everyone well in spite of doubts and mistrust. I will suffer the agony if that is to be my lot. But I may not unnerve myself while I can struggle against evil.

Sir E.: Try to believe there are more people in Great Britain than you imagine in favour of India's inclusion as a free partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. I can give you proof. There is the Labour Party.

G.: I believe you are a growing party. All the same I feel you are still insignificant. But you mention Labour, which is a dismal failure today. It takes its seat in the House of *Lords!*

Sir E.: After the war would you consider every problem if you felt India was to be free?

G.: I have shut my mind against nothing and I am a friend of Great Britain. I always have been. I have no axe to grind. Whatever I do is out of love.

There our talk ended. How far the Mahatma's views as here expressed point to any solution I must leave readers of *The Spectator* to determine.

THE SPECTATOR,

MARCH 6, 1942

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